ST. ANDREWS UNIVERSITY
PUBLICATIONS, XIV.

PALAEOGRAPHIA LATINA

PART I.

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Published for St. Andrews University by
HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Copenhagen, New York,
Toronto, Melbourne, Cape Town, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras,
Shanghai
1922

PREFACE.

Under the title 'Palaeographia Latina' I propose to issue a journal of Latin Palaeography, particularly of Latin book-script until the middle of the eleventh century. In this venture I have the help of Dr. M. R. James, Provost of Eton College, and Dr. J. Cunningham, Member of the St Andrews University Court.

The journal will be cosmopolitan. Articles in French, Italian, German will be as welcome as those in English. Will writers of articles and senders of books (or articles) for review (or short notice) please direct them to the address: Prof. W. M. Lindsay, The University, St Andrews, Scotland, and write in the corner of the envelope the words 'Palaeographia Latina'. I hope that two parts will appear each year.

The publisher is Mr. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Amen Corner, London (E. C.); and the price of each part is, for the present at least, five shillings.

The first part, printed in Rome, I dedicate to my dead friend, Abbé Paul Liebaert. His teacher, Padre Ehrle, has helped not merely by giving advice on its form and contents but by piloting it through the press.

W. M. LINDSAY.

CONTENTS OF PART I.

THE LETTERS IN EARLY LATIN MINUSCULE

(till c. 850).

BY W. M. LINDSAY.

Wattenbach's account of the developement of Latin script was very useful in its day. Here I attempt to bring it (or part of it) up to date. For the form of the letters I refer the reader to the facsimiles in Sir E. M. Thompson's Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography (a book which every reader of this journal is sure to have) since the only satisfactory plan is to shew the form actually used by a scribe in a word. Where this book failed me, the Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum came to my aid and gave me spare copies of as many suitable Palaeographical Society plates as he could lay his hands on. From these (only six, alas!) I have cut out the words photographed in the appended Plate I (nos. 1-20). Where neither of these two means was possible, I fell back on Wattenbach's plan and imitated the letter-forms with my own hand (nos. 21 sqq.).

In writing this account I have sought to help (1) palaeographers, by supplying suitable names under which this or that form can be referred to (e. g. ' cursive Insular *e* '), and (2) Latin scholars, by shewing what letters and ligatures of letters were most easily mistaken by medieval transcribers.

By the symbol ' Introd. ' is meant Sir E. M. Thompson's book; by ' Ir. Min. ' and ' Wel. Scr. ', my two booklets (now published by Mr. Milford) on Early Irish Minuscule and on Early Welsh Script; by ' Not. Lat. ' my Notae Latinae. The others will be easily understood (e. g. ' Rev. Bibl. ' for the Revue des Bibliothèques).

A.

1. In the minuscule script of our period we may distinguish the ' uncial ' type (Plate I 21) from the ' half-uncial ' type (Pl. I 22). Both of these types have many varieties, and both appear side by side in many scripts.

I. The ' uncial ' type. A Merovingian variety (Pl. I 23) attaches the loop to the shaft of the letter by a short stroke (see Rev. Bibl. 24, 21). An Insular (i. e. Irish or Welsh or Anglosaxon) variety (Pl. I 24) turns the loop into an isosceles triangle (see ' Ir. Min. ' pl. 7) Half-way between the ' uncial ' and ' half-uncial ' types stands another Insular form, the ' high-backed ' *a*, resembling *b* of the earliest cursive (until the 4.th or 5.th centuries; see ' Introd. ' facs. 101, 104 and pp. 336, 337), and for us — as for medieval transcribers — liable to confusion with *d* (cf. *d* at the end of the 6.th last line of facs. 97). A mistake like *duo* for *avo* should suggest an Insular exemplar with ' high-backed ' *a* (cf. Zeitschr. Celt. Phil. 9, 306).

II. The ' half-uncial ' type. The circle may be closed or open (at the top). Of the closed form the only variety which calls for notice is that resembling the ligature *oc* and productive of mistakes like *doctus* for *datus*. It was perhaps in the Beneventan minuscule of the subsequent period that the danger of this mistake was most acute.

2. The open form demands a fuller treatment. It is the only form recognized by Visigothic minuscule, in which *t* (see below, s. v.) had in our period a shape like the closed form of *a*. And it is a characteristic feature of all early minuscule. The rough-and-ready rule for dating Caroline minuscule is well known — that a predominance of ' open ' *a* indicates a date not later than the 9.th century. A very open and fairly large *a*, with its two tapering horns, is one of the outstanding features of an early type of Corbie minuscule which I call in these pages the ' Corbie en-type '. The two curves become angles in a Corbie MS. of « 7 cent. » at Petrograd (Q. I 14 Gregory's Homilies), and this ' angular ' *a* is the characteristic feature of the Laon az-script and gives the script its name (' Introd. ' facs. 125; cf. Rev. Bibl. 24, 15 sqq.). The two curves get knobs at the top in other (1) script, so that *a* resembles

(1) There is no ground for calling this *a* which resembles *cc* ' Merovingian '.

cc and a mistake like *succedito* for *sua edito* becomes possible. In the Corbie ab-script only the second curve gets a knob, and *a* resembles *ic* (*datus* resembles *dictus*; see ' Introd. ' facs. 128 and Rev. Bibl. 22, 405 sqq).

3. All these modifications are precautions against the danger of confusing ' open ' *a* with *u*. This confusion in a transcript hardly gives a satisfactory clue to the exemplar. For all minuscule scripts in their early stage use ' open ' *a*, and often the only real difference between ' open ' *a* and *u* is that the former ends in a (slightly) upward curve while the latter does not (see below, s. v. ' U '). Perhaps the danger was greatest for transcribers of a Visigothic or Insular minuscule exemplar; although a MS. in which it might be called an inevitable pitfall for any transcriber, Carlsruhe Reich. 57 Isidore's Etymologies, seems lo have been written at Verona (in a unique type of script) in the 8.th century (see Holder in ' Mélanges Chatelain '). The danger is often increased by the presence of another of the many *a*-types in a neighbouring syllable. I noticed in a Milan MS. (B 159 sup.), written at Bobbio c. 750, the words *sepulchrum parare* (in an apparently contemporary minuscule entry on fol. 133r) written with the ' open ' type in the first and the ' uncial ' in the second syllable of *parare*. Nine out of ten transcribers would write *purare*, since the open *a* of *pa* bears far closer resemblance to the *u* of *sepulchrum* than to the *a* of *ra*.

4. Cursive script of all parts of the Continent loved to write *a* (in open form) above the line and connected with the following letter. Sometimes the *a* stands directly above the following letter (see the ligature ag in the last two lines of ' Introd. ' facs. 114; it might be mistaken for ga). More often it stands high to the left or (e. g. the ligature *ad* in line 2 of ' Introd. ' facs. 115; the ligature *at* of the second last line of ' Introd. ' facs. 131) fairly high. This cursive feature disappears from most book-hands about (1) the end of the eighth century. But not from Visigothic (e. g. in Madrid Acad. Hist. 25 Isidore's Etymologies, of 946 A. D., *at*; in Madrid Tol. 10. 25, of 902 A. D., *at*, *am*, *ar*; in Escurial a I 13, foll. 1-187, of 912 A. D., sometimes *as*, etc.). The resemblance of *an* so

(1) In a Flavigny MS. of 816, Leyden Scal. 28, *haec* often shews it. In Oxford Bodl. 849, of the year 818, *ax* of ' pax '.

written to a common form of *Z* is mentioned below (s. v. ' Z '). The suprascript *a* of e. g. a Rheims MS., Leyden Voss. Q. 60 (" 8-9 cent. "), of small size and angular (instead of curved) perhaps deserves mention. Its *at* (with the ' branch ' of *t* wanting) might also be mistaken for *Z*.

5. But Insular scribes save space by writing *a* (in open ([1]) form) not above but below the line and connected with the preceding (not the following) letter, e. g. *na* (see Pl. I 1 ' *na*-sonis '). This ' subscript ' *a* is not uncommon in the Continental minuscule of centres like Murbach (e. g. Gotha I 85 Canones Murbacenses, with *ma*, *na*), Cambrai (e. g. the half-uncial Cambrai 441 has it in *ma* on fol. 76^{v}), etc., where Insular script was also practised. ' Suprascript ' *a* in the Insular minuscule of our period I have found only in the Book of Armagh (along with ' subscript ' *a*), where it generally shews the closed form, but occasionally (see ' Introd. ' facs. 137, *ad* in the 5.th last line of col. ii) the open.

6. Of the early history of the ligature *ae* a few statistics have been published (by U. Robert in ' Mélanges Jul. Havet ' 1895), but only a few. The different methods of expression may be classified as follows, although the boundary-lines between this and that variety are occasionally effaced in practice.

1. with both elements equally preserved. Uncial *ae* becomes as in Pl. I 25, and half-uncial becomes as in Pl. I 26. Both, but especially the first, are confusible with a *te* ligature (§ 115).

2. with the *e* reduced, the early treatment of *e* in ligatures (§ 29). For example, in the Bamberg Gennadius we find the form of Pl. I 27.

3. with the *a* reduced, either (1) as in Pl. I 1 ' *ae*quora ', or (2) as in Pl. I 28.

4. with *a* appended in the form of a mere cedilla or loop to *e*; either (from the second variety of no. 3) as in Pl. I 29, or (from the Merovingian form of *a*; § 1) Pl. I 30 (as in the Laon az-script), or (from the first variety of no. 3?) Pl. I 31, or else (with a conventional mark) Pl. I 32.

The fourth method is found as early as the half-uncial Basilican Hilary of the year 509. The first variety of no. 3

([1]) Seldom closed (e. g. ' Ir. Min. ' pl. v., *ma* in the 7.th last line of col. i and the 10.th last of col. ii).

is affected in the Irish half-uncial of the Cathach (written probably by Saint Columba's own hand) the Book of Durrow, the Garland of Howth. For the 'Merovingian' variety of no. 4 may be cited the uncial Trèves Gospels, written in 719; for the third variety of no. 4, the Salaberga Psalter; for the first, the Maihingen Gospels (written probably at Echternach about 740), and so on. The cedilla will be seen at the end of 'Introd.' facs. 129 'superbi*ae*'. The Moore Bede (written apparently at Le Mans, c. 737) has both the second variety of no. 3 and the third of no. 4 (see 'Introd.' facs. 142, line 10). The long loop appendage (seen in facs. 130, line 9) appears often in the Book of Kells.

The *oe* ligature, sometimes identical with the second variety of no. 3, is even rarer in the minuscule of our period than is the diphthong *oe* in the Latin vocabulary.

B.

7. In minuscule we find only the half-uncial form (like our b) not the uncial (like our B); although there are one or two examples of the latter; e. g. Oxford lat. theol. d. 3 (of unknown provenance) and Cassel th. Q. 24 (written at Fulda when Servatus Lupus was a monk there) offer it occasionally. Some scribes of Anglosaxon half-uncial add a downward curve at the top of the *b* (on the right), e. g. one scribe of the Lindisfarne Gospels (also in Durham A II 17 and the Salaberga Psalter). But since the same addition appears at the top of *l* and *h* (in the Salaberga Psalter), it should not be called a trace of the upper round of uncial B. No more should the branch which shoots out from the middle of the shaft in the cursive of the Frankish Empire. It is rather a mere connecting link between *b* and the following letter. Sometimes it is arched; and this is the usual form when *b* is connected with a following letter in the Luxeuil type (see 'Introd.' facs. 124, line 6 'bet'). More often it is a straight horizontal stroke, and *b* with this appendage is a characteristic feature of the Corbie ab-script (see 'Introd.' facs. 128, line 2 'bi', 'bo', line 4 'bu') as well as of the "N. E. France" minuscule of Autun 20, Montpellier Ville 3, and is common in the Merovingian bookhand of London Harl. 5041, Berne 611, St Gall 214. The Corbie ab-scribes often leave an interval between

the main part of the lower curve of the letter and the dot or knob in which this curve should end. A 'gappy' *b* of this kind might sometimes be mistaken for *t*.

8. 'Open' *b* (with the round at the base of the letter not continued back as far as the shaft) is a cursive usage which was not expelled from bookhand for some time. Of Beneventan minuscule we are told (Loew 'Ben. Scr.' p. 134) that *b* is more often open than closed in the ninth century. For other minuscule, statistics have not yet been collected. Certainly the closed form is no sure criterion of a late date in our period, for (to mention only one piece of evidence) the 'ancient minuscule' of the marginalia of the Bologna Lactantius shews both the closed and the open forms of the letter.

9. The shaft of *b* (as of *l*) was straight in half-uncial. In Insular half-uncial however the shafts of *b* and *l* bulge out to the left (see 'Introd.' facs. 135-136, 140-141); and this Insular peculiarity (which often found its way into minuscule) appears on the other side of the Channel and characterizes what Delisle (in his 'L'Evangéliaire de Saint Vaast d'Arras') called the 'calligraphie franco-saxonne'.

10. In cursive the scribe often began the letter *b*, or any long-shafted letter, with an upward hair-line on the left, so that the shaft of *b* (as of *l*, *d*, *h*) resembles a whip (with the thong on the left side). This cursive feature appears even in the Irish half-uncial of the Ussher Gospels (see 'Introd.' facs. 134, line 3 *h*, line 4 *l*) and the Veronese half-uncial of Verona 59 Vigilius Tapsensis, etc. It was not expelled from minuscule until the latter part of our period (e. g. Stuttgart H. B. VII 39, written at Constance 811-839, and Paris 2123, of 795-816, offer examples of the 'whip'-shaft).

11. Another cursive freak was to break the continuity of the shaft of *b* (and of *l*) near the base and make a sudden turn to the left. The letter *b* so written seems to end in a hook. This 'hooked' *b* was greatly favoured in the Corbie ab-type (see 'Introd.' facs. 128) and (with a similar *l*) in the Merovingian bookhand of London Harl. 24143, Berne 611. It often appears (usually with a similar *l*) in the earlier minuscule of our period, e. g. Epinal 68 Jerome's Letters (of 744); Einsiedeln 27, foll. 1-24 Ascetica ("8 cent."); Cassel th. Q. 10 Augustine, etc. (Fulda, "8 cent.").

12. But the most violent contortion in cursive script of the regular form of *b* and *l* is that extraordinary sinuous type of shaft seen in 'Introd.' facs. 126, line 6 'a*l*i*b*i'. The sinuosity is not very pronounced in this specimen taken from London Harl. 5041 (Merovingian), but we find veritable 'corkscrew' patterns on other pages of this MS.

13. In calligraphic minuscule a short horizontal stroke sometimes caps the shaft of *b* (also *d*, *l*, *h*), especially in one species (e. g. Cambrai 624) of that class designated by Traube ('Palaeographische Bemerkungen', p. 1) 'between Gallic halfuncial and minuscule', and assigned to the 7.th and 8.th centuries.

C

14. In cursive script *c* was usually higher (often much higher) than ordinary letters. A 'high' (or highish) *c* is not at all uncommon in the minuscule book-hands of especially the early part of our period (Munich 14437, of the year 823, is a fairly late example from Continental script; for a later from Insular see 'Introd.' facs. 138). Some scribes employ it only (or by preference) when *c* is connected with a following letter (especially *o*). The temptation of later transcribers to substitute *e* may be appreciated from a glance at the e-ligatures in, e. g., facs. 139 of 'Introd.' In a St Bertin MS., St Omer 15 Hieronymi Breviarium, 'high' *c* ends at the top in a knob turned to the left, and the same 'antenna' type (commoner in *e*; q. v.) appears in Laon 68.

15. The lower part of *c* (as of *e*, etc.) was in cursive script often separated from the upper. This fashion of writing *c* with two strokes of the pen (see 'Introd.' facs. 131, line 8; facs. 134, line 1) produced in many types a knob-projection at the back of the letter; see 'Introd.' facs. 128 for examples from the Corbie ab-type, in which this formation is normal; facs. 124, line 8 for an example from the Luxeuil type; facs. 125, line 8 and line 9 'co' for examples from the Laon az-type.

16. In other types the upper part of 'high' *c* took the form of another *c* (as in Pl. I 3 'uni*c*um', 4 'sacrifi*c*ia'). This variety is usually called 'broken' *c*, although it seems better to assign this general name to any *c* which is written with two separate strokes of the pen, and to call this special va-

riety ' double ' *c*. The ' double ' *c* is a feature of Italian script, first of that minuscule cultivated in North Italy before the supremacy of Caroline minuscule (§ 64), then of its successor the Beneventan script (of South Italy). But it is found elsewhere too in the eighth century (e. g. Cambrai 619 Canones Hibernenses, written at Cambrai 763-790; Epinal 68 Jerome's Letters, of 744); At St Gall it persist till after our period (e. g. St Gall 46, of 872-883).

17. Of its former universal prevalence a trace has been left in the ligature *ct* which, we may say, everywhere in Continental script exhibits the ' double ' *c* form (cf. ' Introd. ' facs. 152, line 5 ' docti '); although divergences are not unknown, the most notable being a Bobbio type ' recumbent ' *t* (§ 108) which may sometimes be mistaken for *x* or *ox* or *ex* (Pl I 33), e. g. Vat. lat. 5763, Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg. 64, Modena O I 17, all three MSS. of Isidore's Etymologies, written at Bobbio in the beginning or middle of the 8.th century.

18. Of other ligatures of *c* with a following letter the commonest is *co* (Pl. I 34), found in the Corbie ab-script and in some 8.th cent. MSS., e. g. Fulda D. 1 Codex Theodosianus (written at Constance), Verona 33 Augustinus de Agone Christiano (written at Verona). In Luxemburg 68 Echternach, " 8-9 cent. ") it appears in the cursive entry *contuli*, but not in the text. The letter becomes a mere circle (as does *t* in Spanish ligatures; see below, s. v.) in the rare ligature *cc* (Pl. I 35), found in Epinal 68 (written at Murbach in 744), e. g. ' o*cc*asio ', in Milan L 99 sup. (written at Bobbio, perhaps about the same time), in the Milan Maximus (along with a similar *ce*, etc.; ' Introd. ' facs. 114, line 6), etc. On the ligature *ec* see § 111.

D.

19. The uncial type (Pl. I 36) is as common as the half-uncial (like our d) in most of the minuscule of our period and in some scripts (e. g. Beneventan) even commoner. It was a convenient way of writing the letter without lifting the pen, and was quite at home in cursive script. The marginalia in ' ancient minuscule ', e. g. of the Bembine Terence, use it freely (in ' open ' form) along with a disjointed variety of the half-uncial letter (Pl. I 37), and this pair (uncial and ' disjointed '

half-uncial *d*) appear in several early Insular MSS. of Bobbio (e. g. the Naples Charisius), Fulda (e. g. Cassel theol. F 22), etc.

20. Insular scribes who used the 'high-backed' variety of *a* (see § 1) would find dangerously similar the 'half-uncial' *d* in its regular shape ([1]). A shape which (partially) escaped the danger was one appropriate to *d* when connected with a preceding letter, a very open *d* with the left side of the round bent backward at the top ('Introd.' facs. 125, line 4 *od*; facs. 128, line 3 *ed*). This shape was found convenient by Insular scribes, and in their hands often suffers that peculiarly 'Insular' modification, the insertion of an angle at the middle part of the round. (On a similar treatment of the letter *q* see below, s. v.). 'Introd.' facs. 137, taken from the Book of Armagh, shews 'uncial' *d* employed throughout, with the 'ligature' form of 'half-uncial' *d* used occasionally, not merely in the ligature *ed* (col. i, line 1) but also independently (col. ii, line 4, line 9). In the word 'audierunt' (col. i, line 6) the *a* has the 'high-backed' form, the *d* (as usual) the 'uncial' form. In facs. 138, a page from the Leyden Priscian, only the 'uncial' form appears, although in other pages of this MS. the 'half-uncial' (especially the 'open' variety) is not unknown.

21. 'Open' *d* (like 'open' *b*, *p*, *q*) is a test of the age of Latin MSS., but, until statistics have been collected, caution is necessary in applying it. 'Close' *d* appears (often along with 'open') in many MSS. which undoubtedly belong to the 8.th century, e. g. Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg 81 (of the year 772), Cologne 98 and 91, Vat. Pal. 187, London Add. 18304, and is normal (except when the letter is connected with a preceding letter) in the Laon az-type, the Corbie ab-type, etc.

22. A better criterion for distinguishing the older MSS. of our period is the projection of the shaft of 'half-uncial' *d* below the line. We find it in Merovingian book-hand (and, of course, cursive), in the Laon az-type, the "N. E. France" minuscule, the Corbie ab-type, and other pre-Caroline scripts evolved from cursive, e. g. Epinal 68 (of 744), Cambrai 619 (of 763-790), sometimes in the North Italian minuscule of Milan Trivulz. 688 (written at Novara before 800), etc. It may be

([1]) In the Bobbio Irish minuscule of Florence Ashb. 60, in which the regular shape of *d* is used, the reader finds himself continually confusing, e. g., *quid* and *quia*.

taken as evidence that a MS. is not later than the 8.th century (if we except its traditional survival in the Corbie ab-type to the early part of the 9.th).

23. 'Open' *d* (of the 'half-uncial' form) was, when the curve terminated in a knob at the top, dangerously like *cl*. A cursive variety (like Greek minuscule Delta) of the 'uncial' form was often dangerously like pre-Caroline *o*. It had a slight curve to the right at the top (see 'Introd.' p. 337, the Amherst Papyrus *d*). This 'Delta' variety, so frequent in the cursive of all countries (e. g. in the subscriptions in the Basilican Hilary), finds its way into book-hand, e. g. occasionally in Cologne 41 (of Hildebald's time), in the Bangor Antiphonary (Irish half-uncial of 680-691), the group of MSS. at Munich written for Princess Kisyla (Charlemagne's sister), the rude uncial of St Gall 912. When the slight curve is prolonged in a hair-line down half the length of the letter or more (as in the cursive Irish script of the Book of Dimma), the resemblance to cursive *o* ceases and the letter approximates to that variety already cited from the Bembine Terence marginalia. For other modifications of the shaft of *d* see above, § 10, § 13.

E.

24. Uncial *e* (Pl. I 38) may be compared to an open mouth with a tongue. Half-uncial *e* (like our e) makes the upper half resemble an archer's bow, but half-uncial scribes often retained the uncial form (made taller than ordinary letters) when *e* was connected with a following letter (see 'Introd.' facs. 98, line 4 *et, er*, line 5 *em*, line 7 *er*, line 8 *ex*, line 9 *ep*, line 10 *eg*, line 13 *et*). This tallish 'uncial' *e* in ligatures (the tongue of the *e* making the first part of the following letter) is a feature of most minuscule scripts of our period. Perhaps it catches the eye more in an early type of Corbie minuscule than in any other. The sloping tallish *e* (ending at the top in a tag like a beetle's head) in ligatures like *em*, the very open *a* (with tapering horns), the maiuscule *n* (like our N) are the three characteristic features of this script, which I style the 'Corbie en-type'.

25. To the 'beetle-head' variety, so dear to the early scribes of Corbie, some other scribes (e. g. the Cambrai scribes of Cambrai 619, the Trèves scribes of Munich 28118) prefer

an 'antenna' variety, with the top curved backwards into a knob, and (like the 'antenna' shape of *c*; § 14) the letter is often sloped upwards so as to tower above the other letters. The high 'antenna' *e* is affected by the Micy scriptorium, bat is found in other quarters too (e. g. London Add. 18332, a MS. of Carinthia). All scribes, when the 'bow' of 'half-uncial' *e* was accidentally filled with ink, were prone to preserve the identity of the letter by means of a long (or longish) stroke sloping upwards. But even when the 'bow' remains intact we find this excrescence occasionally (e. g. it is a feature of a Rheims MS., Leyden 114), sometimes ending in a knob to the left, e. g. in Leyden Scal. 28 (written at Flavigny), sometimes in a knob to the right, e. g. in Boulogne 66 Augustine contra Cresconium (written at St Bertin).

26. These elongations of *e* are an inheritance from cursive script, in which *e* (like *c*: § 14) was often exaggerated in height and length. Cursive often substitutes for the 'bow' of half-uncial *e* a long upward-sloping narrow loop, and perhaps the cursive of North Italy may be singled out for this peculiarity: Examples will be seen in 'Introd.' facs. 114, where however the length and narrowness of the loop are not so marked as in other early specimens of the Bobbio scriptorium (e. g. the Naples Gesta Pontificum and Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg. 64).

27. The loop was the result of writing elongated 'uncial' *e* without lifting the pen. The pen forms the loop by coming down from the top of the 'mouth' of the *e* to the point where the 'tongue' has to be made. Another one-stroke method was this. Beginning at the right end of the upper curve of the C (the open 'mouth') the pen nearly completes the C, but when it reaches the lower curve it makes that curve turn to the left, instead of to the right, and finishes its course by inserting the tongue (Pl. I 39). This 'eight-figure' *e*, although found elsewhere (e. g. in the early cursive of Lombardy), may be called par excellence the Insular cursive form. From Insular cursive it found its way into Insular bookhand and was sometimes written conventionally like a long sloping narrow *f* (see Pl. I 5 'versus'). The 'conventional' shape is a characteristic (with a long and narrow *g* and a very open *q*; § 87) of an early type of Anglosaxon minuscule (e. g. Petrograd

Q. I 15). The 'figure eight' shape is much more common (see Zentr. Biblw. 1908, p. 290; Zeitschr. celt. Phil. 9, 306), and appears even (presumably an Insular importation) in the Continental script of such MSS. as Cologne 40 (written at Cologne), Paris nouv. acq. 1575 Eugippius (written at Tours). When the two loops of the 8 are, as frequently happens, left incomplete it might be mistaken for *s*.

28. The reserve process was also possible. The pen might begin at the right end of the lower curve of the C and make the upper curve turn to the left (Pl. I 40). This is a favourite method with Continental scribes in such ligatures as *ei* (e. g. in London Cotton Nero A ii, written at Verona), *eo* (e. g. in Berne 611, of a Merovingian type), and, above all, *et*. On fol. 47r of the Cologne MS. just mentioned, Cologne 40, 'et retro' has the first *e* written in this Continental cursive fashion, the second written in the Insular cursive fashion. An early example of *ex* with this sort of *e* will be found in the 'ancient minuscule' marginalia of the Vienna Hilary. But this 'Continental cursive' *e* is also known in Insular script, e. g. in the Book of Mulling *ec*, *ei*, *eo*, *ex*.

29. In cursive script *e* is often broken into two parts. In the word 'gestarum' in 'Introd.' facs. 114, line 1, the lower part is united with the head of the *g* and the upper part (the 'bow') is added separately (cf. line 3 pra*e*, line 5 patr*e*m, etc.). On a similar treatment of *c* see above, § 16. This fashion of writing *e* (and *c*) with two strokes of the pen produced in many types a knob-projection at the back of the letter, as will be noticed (both in *e* and in *c*) in 'Introd.' facs. 128 (the Corbie ab-type). This projection is more exaggerated in an 8.th century MS. from Fulda library, Cassel theol. O. 5, than in any MS. which I have seen. The *e* of 'et' in this MS. suggests at the first glance the letter R, the *e* of 'es' suggests B.

30. The term 'broken' *c* we proposed to extend to any minuscule *c* written with separate strokes of the pen, instead of restricting it (as is usually done) to a particular variety resembling one *c* standing on another. There is a form of *e* analogous to this 'double' *c*. It is the *e* so characteristic of Beneventan minuscule (see 'Introd.' facs. 120) and of its predecessor, the North Italian, and is the favourite formation with many scribes.

31. In Beneventan and North Italian the two parts of the letter are equal in size, and the letter is not so tall as the analogous *c*. Elsewere the loop set on the top of the c-like substructure is often greatly reduced in size (see the *e* of 'et' in line 3 of 'Introd.' facs. 123 for a not very pronounced specimen). Again Insular scribes (and others) love to expand the upper half at the expense of the lower in such ligatures as *en* (Pl. I 41), *ei* (Pl. I 42). In fact there is hardly a letter of the alphabet (see § 110) capable of being written in so many forms and with so varied a manipulation of the pen. On the ligatures *ae*, *oe*, *et*, *eo*, *ex* see § 6, 110, 111, 133.

32. Of the rest the leaf-shaped *ep* ligature is the most worthy of mention (see 'Introd.' fasc. 114. line 6), though confined to the 'ancient minuscule' of the marginalia of the Bologna Lactantius and of Paris 12214 + Petrograd Q I 4, etc., and to the cursive types of the Paris Avitus, the Milan Hegesippus, Lucca 490; etc., the Corbie en-type of Paris 4403[A] Codex Theodosianus (also in the Corbie ab-type of Donaueschingen 18, e. g. fol. 159[r]). Initial Q is sometimes written in this 'leaf' form.

F.

33. We may conveniently, if not quite correctly, distinguish (1) the 'half-uncial' (like our F, but with the upper branch arched), (2) the 'minuscule' (like our f, but very rarely standing on the line), (3) the 'looped' (Pl. I 43) varieties. The 'minuscule' is a rounded and narrowed 'half-uncial' the 'looped' a 'minuscule' written without lifting the pen. Perhaps the normal position of all three (or at least of the first) is with the (lower) branch resting on the line, and the normal position of *s* often coincides with that of *f*. But even where *s* is allowed to stand on the line, *f* is nearly always projected below the line more or less. Some scribes, e. g. Finguine in the St Gall Priscian, actually place the (lower) branch itself below the line. The 'looped' *f* is a cursive variety (e. g. in the marginalia of the Codex Claromontanus, in Lucca 490 sometimes), and in the book-hand of our period is usually confined to ligatures (e. g. *fr* and *fu* in Zürich Stadtbibl. C 12). Often the loop does not quite reach the shaft of the letter (e. g. *fo* in Cassel theol. Q 10 and London Harl. 5041,

fl in Epinal 68, *fr* in Liége 306), occasionally resembling an 'open' (¹) p (e. g. *fe*, *fu* in Milan C 105 inf.).

34. Another cursive variety is 'split-backed' *f* (see 'Introd' facs. 114, line 2 for a not very pronounced example), found (along with a similarly formed *s*) in the earlier or less calligraphic Insular script of our period, e. g. the Book of Mulling, the Book of Dimma, Oxford Digby 63 (of c. 850; see 'Introd.' facs. 144). In the Laon az-type (see 'Introd.' facs. 125) the right side of the split is fantastically curved backwards; in the Luxeuil type both *f* and *s* (facs. 124) are often similarly treated. The crooked stem of 'minuscule' *f* in many MSS. of our period may be a relic of this Merovingian affectation.

35. The branch of *f* was a convenient connecting-line with a following letter. When the letter was *i*, 'dropped' *i* was conveniently suspended to the tip of the branch, thus dropping below the line if the branch rested on the line. When the branch and appendage were carelessly written together (with a curve instead of an angle), fi might be mistaken for *f*. Insular scribes had another way of writing *fi*, by means of the cursive Insular form of *i* or rather 'i longa', a long sinuous stroke. This stroke straggles down through the top of the *f* as far as the line or below: the branch of the *f* is omitted (see Zeitschr. celt. Phil. 9, 304 sqq. for details). In a few early specimens of Insular script written on the Continent (e. g. the Irish script of Vienna 16 and the Naples Charisius, both written at Bobbio; the Anglosaxon script of London Egerton 2831, written at Tours) we find sometimes a third expression, the 'looped' form of *f* with the *i* appended (as a curve) to the lower end of the loop, the point where the loop touches the shaft. This third expression was discarded by Insular scribes. It was too dangerously like a common Insular expression of *si* (see 'Introd.' facs. 138, line 7 dioni*si*a). In the phrase *figuram simul* on fol. 41r of Vienna 16 (or in such a word as *significatum* in the Naples Charisius) the only difference between *fi* and *si* is that the loop touches the shaft in the first combination but not in the second. In an early

(¹) When the follawing letter abutted on 'half-uncial' *f*, a close *p* might be suggested and, e. g., *fa* miscopied as *pa*.

specimen of the Anglosaxon script of St Bertin, Boulogne 63-64, the difference is effaced, for the scribe often writes *ſi* (when he uses the 'looped' *ſ*) in the same careless way as he writes *ſr*, without taking pains to bring the lower end of the loop as far as the shaft. Similarly in the Anglosaxon half-uncial of an Echternach (?) MS., Paris 9382 occasionally (e. g. magnificentia fol. 82ʳ), and in the Anglosaxon minuscule of an Echternach MS., Paris 9527 (e. g. inter*ſi*ciant fol. 66ʳ)

36. Continental scribes (not Visigothic, who do not use 'looped' *ſ*) indulged themselves with this free-and-easy way of expressing *ſi* (the cursive '*ſi*nit' of the uncial Corbie Gospels, fol. 7ʳ, is an early example) and abstained from writing *si* in combination. Therefore a Continental scribe can express *ſi* precisely as an Insular scribe express *si*, and confusion of words like *sinit* and *ſinit* would be inevitable in the transcription of Continental script by Insular copyists or of Insular script by Continental. I have not found in any home insular MS. this combination put to the Continental use of expressing *ſi*. The instances abready cited from the Insular script of Continental centres seem to be alien intrusions.

37. The *ſ* (*s*, etc.) of the Maurdramnus script of Corbie has a knob-like protuberance at the back of the letter. We may call it 'knob-backed' *ſ* (Pl. I 44). In Cassel theol. O. 5 there is sometimes actually a small loop at the back, so that *ſa* (fol. 67ʳ) might even be mistaken for *qua* (with suprascript arch for *u*; see below, s. v. 'U').

G.

38. The uncial, half-uncial and (Continental) minuscule types bear a rude resemblance to the Arabic numerals 9, 5, 3, except that the circle of the 9 is open on the right, the top-stroke of the 5 is prolonged to the left, and at the top of the 3 there is a short stroke to the right. Spanish minuscule adopted the uncial (¹), Insular minuscule the half-uncial (²) form. An earlier uncial type, merely c with a tag added to the lower

(¹) Spanish scribes often express *z* by the half-uncial g-form, e. g. the Toledo Bible (Madrid Tol. 2, 1).

(²) The uncial type I found occasionally in the Anglosaxon minuscule of Gotha I 75 Sedulius. In Insular half-uncial (e. g. the Salaberga Psalter, the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Douce Primasius) it is often found.

end of the curve, was liable to be confused with *ci* (when written with 'dropped' *i*); so the tag was lengthened to prevent the confusion. In reading MSS. like Milan L 99 sup. Isidore's Etymologies (Bobbio, "mid. 8 cent."), Leyden Voss. Q 63 Gregory of Tours ("8 cent."), Vatí Pal. 554, foll. 5-12 (Anglosaxon, "8 cent"), one finds some difficulty at first in distinguishing *ci* from *g* (e. g. *adficiat* from *adfigat*). And early MSS. of Bobbio use an abbreviation of *cum*, the letter *c* followed by a sinuous vertical stroke (cutting the tail of the *c*) which might easily be miscopied as *g* (see 'Not. Lat.' p. 41). So might a rarer Insular 'cum' symbol, *c* followed by a 7-mark (Ibid. p. 360).

39. Some early specimens of Continental minuscule use all three types: Berlin th. F. 354 Gregory's Moralia (written apparently at Corbie, "mid. 8 cent."); the Maurdramnus Bible at Amiens (written at Corbie, 772-780); Paris nouv. acq. 1575 Eugippius (written at Tours, "beg. 8 cent."); Oxford lat. theol. d 3 Commentary on Pentateuch (of unknown provenance); St Gall 70 Pauline Epistles (written at St Gall, c. 760); Verona 42 Gregory's Pastoralis Cura (written at Verona); Oxford Jun. 25, foll. 1-59 Ethici Cosmographia (written at Murbach, "8 cent."); Berne 611 + Paris 10756 (written, in part at least, before 721), and so on. All three appear in the cursive marginalia of the Codex Claromontanus (Paris grec. 107).

40. The use of two out of the three is extremely common. Indeed we may say that only Visigothic and Insular minuscule are restricted to one form (also Beneventan, although the half-uncial form appears in the Bamberg Cassiodorus). The freedom of choice does not surprise us since we find the uncial form encroaching on half-uncial script as early as the Vienna Hilary (written before 560); while the half-uncial form is frequent in the later specimens of uncial script: e. g. Munich 6278 Gregory's Moralia (written at Freising); Paris 9561 Gregory's Pastoralis Cura (written at St Bertin); Paris 4884 Victor of Tours. In the text of the uncial Trèves 36 Prosper (written at Trèves in 719) the uncial form is used, but in the apparently contemporary marginalia the half-uncial. That the Carolingian minuscule of Brittany makes frequent use of the Insular type of *g*, and the Carolingian minuscule of Aquitaine freely admits the Visigothic type is natural enough. But it

would be a great mistake to say that the use of the 9-form always points to Spanish influence, or even that the use of the 5-form is confined to Continental centres where Insular script was formerly or still practised.

41. Just as the 5-form is a developement of the 9-form (the upper part of the curve being replaced by a straight horizontal stroke), so the 3-form is a developement of the 5-form (the straight horizontal stroke being curved down on the left). The rough-and-ready rule for dating Carolingian minuscule, that the earlier specimens keep both bows of the 3 open while the closing of the upper or the lower bow or of both indicates a later date, justifies itself by the argument that the open form is least removed from the half-uncial parent type. That the rule has many exceptions will be seen from a glance at 'Introd.' facs. 154 and 155 (of the years 821 and 823, with the upper bow, and sometimes also the lower, closed) and facs. 158 (of about 840, with both bows open). Scribe A of the Ada Gospels closes both, scribe B keeps the lower open but sometismes closes the upper. The MSS. written at Cologne in Archbishop Hildebald's (794-818) shew both the open form and the form with the top bow closed and also the parent 5-form (with the horizontal stroke curved). The group of Mss. at Munich which were written for Princess Kisyla, Charlemagne's sister, shew the same trio.

42. But the substitution of a circle or loop for the upper bow of the 3-form is older than Carolingian minuscule. It was a feature of cursive script, the result of writing the 5-form without lifting the pen. Beginning at the right-hand side of the upper stroke (the cross-beam) the scribe curved that stroke dowwards on the left and, without lifting his pen, continued the curve into a circle or loop until he reached the centre of the upper stroke, from which point again he proceeded in a donnward direction with the rest of the letter. A bizarre Italian type of *g* illustrates the procedure (Pl. I 45). It appears in the cursive addition (foll. 117-118) in Verona 38 (written at Verona); in Vat. Barb. 679 Cresconii Canones (written at Farfa); iu Carlsruhe Reich. 222 Apocalypse, etc. (by the first of the scribes, presumably an Italian); also, slightly altered, in Milan C 105 inf. Hegesippus (written at Bobbio), etc. With this slightly altered form may be compared a Merovingian type

with the top-stroke sinuous throughout (see I 6 '*gessit*', 7 'singulariter').

43. While Carolingian minuscule adds, as the last element in the letter, the small stroke to the right of the top of the 3, Italian begins with the complete top-stroke, starting from its right-hand end (Pl. I 46); and this Italian type is also the prevalent type in Burgundy (e. g. Autun 20^A^, written at Autun; Montpellier 84, written at Couches). The upper stroke may be sinuous as well as straight. Not merely the completely closed upper part of the letter but also the shortness of the lower part distinguish it from the Carolingian type (with longer sweep of the lower bow of the 3).

44. In the Corbie ab-script too, a script of Charlemagne's time, the lower part is kept equal in size to the upper or sometimes less. The upper is a neat oval, completely or almost completely closed, and the upper stroke is treated either in Italian (and Burgundian) or else in Carolingian fashion (see 'Introd.' facs. 128). This large oval head appears also in MSS. like Petrograd O. I 4 Cassian's Collationes (Corbie en-type), Paris 17371, foll. 1-153 Jerome on Jeremiah (written at St Denis, 793-806), etc.

45. Another way of writing the half-uncial form without lifting the pen was to begin at the left side of the top horizontal stroke and not continue the stroke past the point at which the pen had to start on its downward course. This produced a form which might be compared to a flat-headed (numeral) 3, but which may more conveniently be termed the z-variety (resembling Greek minuscule Zeta) since it undoubtedly was sometimes liable to be confused with the letter *z* by transcribers. It is known to the half-uncial scribes of all countries, and was the form favoured in the half-uncial passages of Tours MSS. from Alcuin's time (see 'Introd.' facs. 132), from which it found its way often into Tours minuscule. At Tours (and elsewhere too) the top horizontal stroke is fairly long and the whole letter is fairly broad; in strong contrast to a form affected by some Insular scribes, a very narrow type of letter which begins well above the line and descends well below: e. g. in the marginalia (apparently written by Boniface) in the Codex Fuldensis; in the marginalia of the

Douce Primasius (see 'Ir. Min.' pl. iv.); in part of Petrograd Q. I 15 Theologica Varia 'beg. 8 cent.'), etc.

46. In ligatures (especially *gn, gr*) the half-uncial form became like our S. Indeed the ligature *gi* exactly reproduces our printed S, the *i* forming the tag at the top-end of our letter. This ligatured form is sometimes used independently by scribes: e. g. in the Ussher Gospels (see 'Introd.' facs. 134, line 6); in Milan D 23 sup Orosius ('Insular' half-uncial of Bobbio); and in some minuscule specimens of Insular script. Confusion with *s* in transcription is conceivable. Both the half-uncial MSS. close the under curve of the letter into a loop (similarly the half-uncial Durham A II 16 and B II 30 in *gn, go*). But minuscule Insular *g* which terminates in a loop below is not found before the ninth century (occasionally in the Book of Armagh of 808) and may generally be taken as evidence of a date later than our period (e. g. the Bamberg Scriptores Historiae Augustae).

47. Lastly must be mentioned a curious 'disjointed' Merovingian variety (Pl. I 47), in which a curved stroke starts from the foot of the completed letter and is continued to the line or above. I have found it in Berne 611 + Paris 10756, St Gall 214 + St Paul (Carinthia) frag., London Add. 24143; also (in a modified form) in London Harl. 5041, foll. 79 sqq., a MS. already cited for its 'corkscrew shafted' *l, b* (§ 12).

H.

48. The minuscule of Burgundy can be recognized by the characteristic form of *h*. The shaft (sometimes slightly curved) slopes downward from left to right and is (like the shafts of other letters in Burgundian minuscule) not 'clubbed' (i. e. thickest at the top) but 'pillared' (i. e. thick throughout). But *h* with a sloping shaft (straight or slightly curved) is not by any means unknown in other types of script. It appears in the Veronese cursive of Verona 163 Claudian and Verona 33 Augustine de Agone Christiano; in Cologne MSS. frequently; in the Swiss minuscule of St Gall and Chur and in Einsiedeln 157; in the Corbie ab-type, and so on. ('Introd.' facs. 129, line 5 shews an example from an '8 cent.' MS. of Murbach).

The Insular 'autem' symbol was treated by scribes as *h*

with a 'tail' appended, and is subject to the same modification of form as the letter itself.

49. Correctors often add *h* (when omitted by a scribe) in a conventional form, a small suprascript (Greek) rough breathing (see 'Introd.' p. 64). This is usually termed the 'dasia' (the Greek for 'rough breathing.' In most MSS. of our period it has clearly been added by a corrector after our period. But not in all. In a MS. written at Soissons c. 700, Brussels 9850-2, the correction (which occasionally takes the form of a small *h*) seems contemporary. And in a Freising MS., Munich 6228 ("8 cent.)", where it is very frequent, it seems to come from the scribe himself; also in Lucca 490 (of c. 800), e. g. fol. 7r menest*h*ei, fol. 20v cleant*h*es, etc.

The 'paragraphus' (the sign of a new paragraph) in an early Tours MS., Paris nouv. acq. 1575 Eugippius (also in Paris 13386, etc.), takes a shape indistinguishable from the 'dasia', and would cause trouble now and then to transcribers. And the same mark sometimes plays other parts; e. g. in a MS. later than our period (Vat. lat. 1570 Virgil with Commentary) 'syntax-mark', used to indicate the construction of the sentence, sometimes have this form. Thus the dasia-mark stands above the Preposition and its Noun in the line (fol. 34r): frigidus obstiterit *circum praecordia* sanguis. A transcript might conceivably shew *circhum praechordia*.

I.

50. I. '*i longa*'. To give the letter *i* some individuality the Romans often lengthened it. This 'i longa' plays many parts in the MSS. of our period, but never indicates the long quantity of the vowel, as in Roman inscriptions of the early Empire. It also takes many forms: (i) it may stand on the line and be elongated to the height of letters like *b, d, l*; (ii) it may be projected below the line (whence our j) to the depth of letters like *p, q*, while its upper part stands on a level with the shaftless letters; (iii) it may be elongated at once above and below (e. g. very often in the Corbie ab-type; see 'Introd.' facs. 128, last line, for a poor example).

51. It is only in cursive (especially the earlier cursive) that we find elongation of any *i* whatsoever, without distinction. This promiscuous use may be illustrated from the 'ancient mi-

nuscule' of the scholia of the Bembine Terence (with e. g. nImIum). Practically all scribes who use 'i longa' follow (perhaps often unconsciously) certain limitations and in many types of script there are definite rules enforced on writers.

52. The rules for Beneventan and Visigothic minuscule have been investigated (by Loew 'Stud. Pal.'). In both these scripts 'i longa' is used (1) for initial [1] *i*, (2) for *j* (i. e. consonantal *i*): so that a South Italian or Spanish scribe writes In, Igitur, Iam, maIor, aIo, etc., the only difference being that a South Italian calligrapher avoids 'i longa' before a shafted letter (e. g. in 'ibo', 'ipse', and especially in 'ille') more than a Spanish calligrapher. This Beneventan and Visigothic 'i longa' is often hardly distinguishable from *l* and has been mistaken for it not merely by Caroline minuscule transcribers (who never use 'i longa') but by modern editors. Thus *aio* becomes *alo*, *maius* becomes *malus*. On the other hand it preserves the intelligent transcriber or editor from the danger of confusing *ius* with *vis*, etc. [2].

53. For other scripts than Beneventan and Visigothic the usage has still to be investigated (see below.). The few statistics which have been collected and published seem to require revision, for some collectors, after they have found In, Inde, Ius, Iustus, Iungo in the opening pages of a MS., will hasten to pronounce that 'every initial *i* is so written'; whereas all that these five examples prove is that initial *i* before *n* and before *u* is elongated by this scribe. The possible uses of 'i longa' are for: —

(1) any initial *i*. The long form would be a handy indication of the beginning of a word.

(2) initial *i* before *n*. The long form would prevent *in* from being mistaken for *m*. In the rude half-uncial of the Cathach, a Psalter written probably by St Columba, the Irish saint writes 'i longa' (or rather 'longior', for it is only slightly higher than shaftless letters) in the word (or opening syllable)

[1] In a phrase like *ad insulam* there is not necessarily initial *i*. The scribe may visualize it as one word *adinsulam* (like *adfero*).

[2] Loew l. c., p. 13, cites Tac. Hist. 4, 48, 10 (legatorum vis adolevit), where editors waver between *vis* and *ius*. Since our unique MS. of the Histories is in Beneventan script, its reading is undoubtedly *vis*. For *ius* would inevitably be written with 'i longa' by a South Italian scribe.

in whenever he uses the minuscule form of *n* (In, but IN). It is true that one might expect to find 'i longa' before *n* in the middle of a word also, in order to keep, e. g., *vino res* from being mistaken for *umores*; but there seems to be no instance in the book-hand of our period (except deInde, proInde, etc., which may be otherwise explained).

(3) initial *i* before *u*. The long form would prevent *iu* from being mistaken for *ui* (e. g. *ius* for *uis*). Here too the extension to *iu* in the middle of a word is conceivable; and certainly eIus, conIunctus, etc. are not unknown in the book-hand of our period. The collector of statistics must seek evidence whether these do not rather (as in Beneventan and Visigothic minuscule) belong to the following class.

(4) j (consonantal *i*), both initial (e. g. Iam, Iovis, Iungo and medial (e. g. MaIa, maIestas, maIor, maIus). For it is not conceivable that a scribe who used 'i longa' (as we use *j*) to indicate the consonantal sound of Latin *i* should content himself with indicating this sound at the beginning of a word only.

54. A more purposeless use of 'i longa' is rather a feature of cursive and, when it appears in books, indicates an early script which has not yet discarded cursive features:

(5) after letters like *r*, *t* and (the 'half-uncial' type of) *g*, all of them ending in a thrust to the right. We find rI, tI, gI (some or all) in the 'ancient minuscule' of the marginalia of such MSS. as the Bologna Lactantius and Lyons 253[ris] Augustine's Civitas Dei; in the half-uncial of such MSS. as the Cassel Hegesippus; in the Corbie en-type (not *gi*, for the 'half-uncial' type of *g* is not used), etc. (For an example from the early minuscule of Tours, see 'Introd.' facs. 130, line 3 '*altaris*').

It seems reasonable to connect with this fashion that cursive Insular fashion of writing *ri*, *ti*, etc., of which I have given details in Zeitschr. celt. Phil. 9, 304. The subscription of the Stowe St John's Gospel fragment offers in five lines no less than eight examples of *ri* written with a long vertical sinuous stroke following the *r*. A common Insular form of the *ti* ligature (see below, s. v. 'T') seems to superimpose this cursive 'i longa' on the body of the *t*. And the less common Insular *ri* ligature (or rather 'connexion') does the same (see Pl. I

8 'scriptam', 9 'scriptum'). And just as in the 'ancient minuscule' of, let us say, the marginalia of Vat. Reg. 886 (e. g. fol. 73v armatus in) 'i longa' often transects the wide upper curve of a preceding *s*, etc., so the Insular scribe often writes *fi* (especially in the word 'finit' in Explicits) with this cursive Insular 'i longa' straggling down through the wide upper curve of the *f* (see above, s. v. 'F').

55. In the Cassel Hegesippus 'i longa' after *t* is often projected below the line (usually curved like our j wanting the dot). This was the fashion which gained most universal acceptance (see 'Introd.' facs. 153, line 6). We find it all through our period in all types of Continental script and in some utilized to distinguish the assibilated pronunciation (e. g. in *natio*) from the unassibilated (e. g. in *natis*). See below, s. v. 'T').

56. The analogous expression of *ri* (on that of *gi* see below) usually appends to the elevated branch of the *r* a long sinuous vertical curve like Insular cursive 'i longa' (e. g. in the 'ancient minuscule' marginalia of Lyons 523bis and of the Codex Claromontanus). This *ri* ligature (see 'Introd.' facs. 120, line 3) is a feature of all Continental script throughout our period, but not of Insular. Its rare appearance in Insular script proves the MS. to have been written in a Continental scriptorium (e. g. Munich 6298, written at Freising). An Insular scribe writes, as a rule, an ordinary *r* followed by an ordinary *i*. A short variety of the *ri* ligature might be mistaken for *n*.

57. II *Subscript i*. In uncial script *ui* is often expressed by prolonging the second upright of *u* downwards in a straight line, so that *ui* resembles a very 'open' *q* (see below, s. v. 'U'). Similarly *ni*, etc. occasionally in the 'ancient minuscule' of such MSS. as the Basilican Hilary. In minuscule script *i* prefers a comma-form similarly appended (1). It is a constant feature of Insular script, and a frequent feature of the Continental of scriptoriums under Insular influence, e. g. Freising,

(1) Literally 'subscript' *i* (i. e. set directly under the centre of the letter) appears in a Vatican MS. written at Trèves in 810, Vat. Pal. 1448, and in another, Vat. Pal. 212, of uncertain provenance (also Trèves?). These two MSS. sometimes express *ni*, *mi* by *n* and *m* with a comma written (at a very slight interval) under their centres.

Murbach; but also of others from which Insular influence seems remote (e. g. *mi*, *ni*, *hi* in the North Italian minuscule of Vercelli 202 Isidore's Etymologies; *mi*, *ni* in the Lons-le-Saulnier Bede, written at St Claude, Jura, 804-815, a MS. which shews no Insular abbreviation; in Beneventan minuscule, etc.). It is commonest in *mi*, *ni*; next in *hi*; while (minuscule) *ui* is perhaps confined to Insular script (also appearing in the Continental of a Murbach MS., Colmar 39, e. g. fol. 103v 'quia'). Peculiar too to Insular script are the rarer *bi* (e. g. the Book of Mulling and the Book of Armagh, for Irish; Berne 671, for Cornish; Petrograd Q. XIV 1, for Anglosaxon), *di* (e. g. the half-uncial St Chad Gospels, for Welsh?; Milan C 301 inf., for Irish; St Gall 761, for Anglosaxon). *xi* (e. g. the half-uncial St Gall 51 and the Leyden Priscian, for Irish; while the Anglosaxon half-uncial of the Maeseyck Gospels exhibits rather 'dropped' than 'subscript' *i*, and the Anglosaxon minuscule of Paris 9527 appends a long curve to the upper right end of the *x*). The *bi* ligature might be mistaken for *li*. The *di* (e. g. in St Gall 761) is indistinguishable from the *ti* ligature.

58. Insular too is the comma appended to the right end of the curve of *t* in *ti* (also in the Continental script of Munich 210, from Salzburg). This comma, when in small size, is hardly distinguishable from the flourish in which the curve of Insular *t* sometimes ends (e. g. in the Freising Anglosaxon script of Munich 6297); and perhaps that is why *ti* in Insular script usually prefers 'dropped' to 'subscript' *i*. (Continental script, we have seen, as sometimes Insular, appends the *i* to the right end of the branch, not of the curve, of *t*, a practice from which arose a common Continental and Insular form of the *ti* ligature; § 115).

59. The Insular method of writing *si* (see above, s. v. 'F') may perhaps be classed with 'subscript' *i*. So too may that curious expression of *peri* (e. g. in the Irish minuscule of the Book of Mulling, the Book of Armagh, etc., and the Nothumbrian of Vat. Pal. 68), with a curve appended to the 'tail' of the Insular abbreviation-symbol for 'per' (*p* with a 'tail'). A transcriber might be pardoned for mistaking it for a common Insular abbreviation of *pus* (cf. 'Introd.' facs. 127, line 1 'bus').

60. Like Insular *ti*, so Insular *li* wavers between 'subscript' *i* (e. g. in the Naples Charisius and the Book of Dimma, for Irish; in the Moore Bede and the glosses of Petrograd F. I 3, part *i*, for Anglosaxon) and 'dropped' *i*. A curious cursive *ai* (with the suprascript form of *a*) in Epinal 68 (of 744) resembles *z* (e. g. m*ai*oribus). The appendage of *i* to suprascript *u* which so often expresses *ui* (in 'qui', etc.) in the minuscule of Bobbio, St Gall, etc., is mentioned elsewhere (s. v. 'U').

61. III. *Dropped i*. It has been already remarked (s. v. 'C') that *ci*, when written, as so often in all kinds of script, with 'dropped' *i* (i. e. with the letter beginning much nearer the line than usual) was dangerously like the 'uncial' type (sickle form) of *g* when the handle of the 'sickle' was not sufficiently long. The Insular (but not exclusively Insular) ligature *fi* (with the *i* appended to the right end of the branch of f) also exhibits what may be called 'dropped' *i*, while the Continental fi-ligature is identical with the Insular si-ligature (see above, s. v. 'F'). 'Dropped' *i* is common after *l* from the earliest times (e. g. in the uncial of the Bologna Lactantius, etc.; in the half-uncial of the Basilican Hilary, etc.; in the 'ancient minuscule' of the marginalia of MSS. like the Basilican Hilary and often in the word 'contuli' in their subscriptions) and in most types of script. (For an Anglosaxon example, not a very good one, see 'Introd.' facs. 142 line 3). It is sometimes mistakable for *b*, *alii* resembling *abi*, etc.

62. 'Dropped' and 'subscript' *i* are, as we have seen, not always to be distinguished. They may often conveniently be included under the wider term 'enclitic' *i*, where the letter is treated by the scribe as a mere appendage to the preceding letter. The S-form assumed by the Insular ligature *gi* has been already mentioned (s. v. 'G'). Merovingian *gi* appends *i* in a much longer curve to the head of the letter (see 'Introd.' facs. 124, line 2; 125, line 1). The same long appendage (attached in similar fashion to the open 3-form of *g*) appears in MSS. like Epinal 29 (of 744); and Beneventan *gi* preserves this early practice. In *ei* (see above, s. v. 'E') the same (usually) long curve (or straight line) is appended to the right of the 'tongue' of the *e* in Insular as well as most Continental scripts; although, what we might expect in Insular,

'subscript' *i* (as in *ti*) appears in the half-uncial of Durham A II 16.

63. When the 'cursive' Insular *e* (the 'figure eight' form) is employed, the *i* merely continues the curve of the 'tongue' and might be ignored by a transcriber sometimes. Similarly when the 'cursive' Continental *e* (the reverse of the Insular) is employed; the ligature being then dangerously like the Continental ligature *et*. This 'Continental' *ei* appears also in Insular minuscule, e. g. in the Book of Mulling (see above, s. v. 'E'). Curiously enough, a Freising scribe of Munich 6262 (854-875 A. D.) writes *ti* (in 'viginti', 'ubertatis', etc.) precisely in this fashion (see below, § 119).

64. These ligatures *ei*, *fi*, *gi*, *li*, *ri*, *ti* became obligatory in Beneventan script (especially at the developed stage which came after our period); and, as we shall see (s. v. 'T'), one particular form of the *ti* ligature (resembling a reversed Greek minuscule Beta) became obligatory for the assibilated sound of *ti*. These rules merely reduced to system the practice already prevailing in Italian minuscule, for in North (and Central?) Italy we find a script hardly (if at all) distinguishable from the earlier stages of Beneventan. We find there also a script hardly distinguishable from Caroline minuscule, which attained great beauty at Verona when Pacifico (d. 846) was head of the scriptorium. The presence of 'i longa' seems a good criterion for distinguishing this 'Caroline' type of Italian minuscule from the Caroline minuscule of France, although the minuscule of the North Italian scriptoriums (Verona, Vercelli, Novara, Nonantola, etc.) has really not yet been investigated.

65. We have seen that a mistake like *malus* for *maius*, *alo* for *aio* suggests an exemplar in Beneventan (or rather any Italian) or Visigothic minuscule. 'Suggests', not 'proves'. For, in the first place, the letters *i* and *l* (also *t*) of Rustic Capital (and some Uncial) are easily confused at any part of a word. And, in the second, the more that any species of minuscule retains of its cursive origin, the more readily it admits 'i longa'. Three 'Merovingian' types of book-hand, namely the Luxeuil type, the Laon az-type, and the Corbie ab-type, all abound with 'i longa'; although it is perhaps only in the Luxeuil type that *maius*, etc. could be misread

as *malus*, etc., and even there not very often. The use of 'i longa' for *j* is a feature too (but seldom a constant feature) of the oldest minuscule of many writing-centres, such as Tours (e. g. London Egerton 2831), Corbie (e. g. Paris 4403A and 12239), Murbach (e. g. Epinal 68, of the year 744), Cologne (e. g. Cologne 210 and 98). By the time of Charlemagne these centres dispense with 'i longa' altogether (the calligraphic Tours minuscule of Alcuin's or Fredegisus' time, the Corbie minuscule of Maurdramnus' time, the Cologne minuscule of Hildebald's time).

66. A mistake like *lacto* for *iacto* is much weaker evidence. For the use of 'i longa' for initial *i* (or *j*) was more widely prevalent than its use for *j* (medial as well as initial). Most prevalent of all was its use for the initial of *in*; and any scribe who recognizes 'i longa' at all is sure to write In, Inpono, etc. (probably also exInde, etc. and Impono, etc.). Practically every specimen of Insular minuscule offers In (often closely resembling *hi*), and most add other examples of initial 'i longa' such as Iungo, Ita. At some Continental centres of Insular script we see (in their Continental script especially) a conflict between the Insular use and what we may call the 'Continental' disuse of 'i longa'. For example, in a Fulda MS. written before 847 by two scribes, Vat Reg. 124, the one avoids 'i longa' altogether, the other writes it always as the initial of 'in' and sometimes of other words such as 'ita'. In the Lorsch MSS. at the Vatican Library which shew the work of two or more scribes we often find the same conflict.

67. Another use to which 'i longa' was occasionally put has still to be mentioned, for the second of two neighbouring i's; e. g. in Cologne 210 exiIt, filiI. Sometimes in the j-form, e. g. Verona 59 filij (without the dot). These would escape the danger of confusion with *u*. The second unit of iii (xiii, etc.) or the second and fourth of iiii (xiiii, etc.) are often similarly treated. (On the Spanish ligature *it*, see below, s. v. 'T').

L.

68. The 'foot' of this letter usually substituted in minuscule a curve for the angle of the majuscule form, and often (e. g. in the earlier specimens of Anglosaxon) this curve is

continued right under the following letter (or letters). 'Introd.' facs 114 shews in line 6 an example from an early MS. of Bobbio of this practice where the 'foot' is not curved; and in line 9 ('facile') an occasional early type (with arched 'instep') which might be mistaken for *h*, a type perhaps commoner in uncial than in minuscule. When the curve of minuscule *l* is reduced to a minimum, the letter is easily confused with the long form of *i* (see above, s. v.). When an ornamental tag is added to the straight or curved) foot, *l* might be mistaken for the ligature *li* (with that 'dropped' *i* seen in line 3 of the facsimile just mentioned).

69. A kind of 'dropped' *l* appears in earlier MSS., such as Epinal 68 of the year 744), London Add. 11878 (of the Luxeuil type). Paris nouv. acq. 1507, in ligatures like *el*, *fl*, the head of the *l* being attached to the 'tongue' of the *e*, the 'branch' of the *f*, and its 'foot' prolonged in a sinuous sweep under the line. On certain modifications of the shaft of *l* (and the other shafted letters), e. g. the 'corkscrew shafted' *l* of some Merovingian MSS., see above, s. v. 'B'.

M, N.

70. While the majuscule form of *m* is rare in the minuscule of our period (e. g. the capital form sometimes in Epinal 68 of the year 744; the uncial form, i. e. with rounded and not angular 'shoulders' in the Corbie ab-type of Petrograd F. I 11), the majuscule form of *n* (angular both in uncial and in capital script) is common all through our period. Its special frequency in the Corbie en-script makes it a prominent feature of this type; it is much affected in the calligraphy of Tours, etc.; and, in fact, it may be said to be one of the marks which a palaeographer uses in dating Caroline minuscule. But until statistics are collected, this test of date must be used with caution. For example, it is of common occurrence in so late a MS. as the Corbie Gregorian Sacramentary of 972-986 (Paris 12052). And we must allow for caprice of individual scribes. The Ratisbon scribes of Munich 14468 (written at Ratisbon in 821) do not use it; those of Munich 14437 (written in 823) do. In the Cologne MSS. of Hildebald's time I have not noticed it, although it is common in the earlier Cologne 98, Cologne 210, etc.

71. This uncial and capital *n* (like our N) is used exclusively in Continental half-uncial script, which thus escapes the danger of having *n* and *r* confused by transcribers (see below, s. v. 'R'). The form resembling our n should therefore be called the 'minuscule' rather than the 'half-uncial' form although the analogous form of *m* is rightly called 'half-uncial' (being, in fact, the uncial form reduced in size and with the first curve turned into an upright). Insular half-uncial scribes admit both the minuscule form of *n* and the other, and some (e. g. in the Lichfield Gospels) affect variety where *n* is repeated, e. g. a**n**no, **n**on.

72. The rough-and-ready rule for dating the minuscule of our period, that *m* and *n* do not end in a slight upward turn to the right (a great departure from the uncial form of *m*) does not hold for all scripts, e. g. Merovingian book-hand of various types and Beneventan (from the earliest stage). Merovingian examples of this 'late' form will be seen in 'Introd' facs. 124, 125, 126, 128; Beneventan in facs. 120 (which should however be dated '874-893' and not '812'). Insular calligraphers (and some others) often so exaggerate this 'uncial' feature of minuscule *m* (and *n*) that the final stroke is brought in a sweep under the line till it reaches a point immediately below the middle shaft of the *m* (or even further to the left). They do this especially, but not only, at the end of the line. And Insular half-uncial script, especially at the end of a paragraph or a page, sometimes indulges in a freak-form, with this final curve fantastically elongated (see 'Introd.' facs. 135, end).

73. There is an early, a very early form of *n* (of the majuscule shape) which closely resembles (capital) *m*, and is due to writing *n* without lifting the pen. The middle stroke instead of going down to the foot of the second upright, makes a slight dip and joins the second upright at the top (Pl. I 48). It appears sometimes (nearly in this form) in that part of the Book of Mulling to which the St Moling (d. 696) subscription is appended, and strongly confirms the tradition about this early specimen of Irish minuscule. It appears also in the early cursive of Verona 3 and fol. 403^{v} of Verona 1: in the 'quarter-uncial' of Rome Sessor. 55 Augustine; in the corrector's entry on fol. 110 of the Basilican Hilary (correc-

ted in 509-510); in the 'ancient minuscule' marginalia of Vat. Reg. 886 and the Bologna Lactantius, and so on.

74. Quite a contrary formation of *n* (of 'majuscule' shape) is employed in the Corbie Leutchar-type of Berlin th. F. 354 (by the first scribe, whose *n* resembles his *u*), in the Anglosaxon half-uncial of London Royal '1 E vi' etc. The middle stroke is horizontal (usually on the line) and begins from the foot of the first upright (from its centre, when the first upright is projected below the line). Some Anglosaxon half-uncial scribes make this type of *n* broader than the normal form. The normal (majuscule) form is however occasionally fantastically extended in breadth (often with a reduction in the height of the letter), especially when a scribe found that he had left himself too much space for his task and wished to extend his writing so as to fill the whole of the last page of a quire (e. g. *n*ome*n* in the Anglosaxon half-uncial of London Royal 1 E vii).

75. More often a scribe desired to save space (and secure correct syllable-division) at the end of a line. In such a case Insular scribes (especially in half-uncial MSS.) write *n* at the end of a line sideways (like our numeral 3). The write *m* similarly, but with an additional curve (see 'Introd.' facs. 135, line 1, end); while *um* is expressed by capping this long spiral with a suprascript *u*, *am* with a suprascript *a* (e. g. Durham A II 17; although suprascript *a* is a great rarity in Insular script). Sometimes scribes write *n* above the line, in majuscule or minuscule form, or even in that tachygraphic form which exactly resembles our z; and in the Anglosaxon half-uncial of the Lindisfarne Gospels we find occasionally 'stilted' *n*, with the body of the letter (in majuscule form) above and the first upright (like a stilt) prolonged down to the line.

76. Details of these contrivances for reducing the space occupied by *m* and *n* will be found in 'Not. Lat.' pp. 342 sqq., as well as of another contrivance which is usually (but unscientifically) called an 'abbreviation-symbol' for *m* and *n*, a suprascript stroke which in 'ancient minuscule' (e. g. the scholia of the Medicean Virgil), in majuscule from the earliest times, in the calligraphic minuscule of Verona (and other centres) is often not suprascript but treated like an ordinary

letter [1]. In the minuscule of our period it is, we may say, only Spanish scribes who 'abbreviate' *n*, so that intelligent transcribers would never be in danger of misinterpreting the symbol unless they had a Visigothic exemplar. And even Spanish scribes often distinguish, adding a dot (or a shorter stroke) above (or under) the abbreviation-stroke when *m* and not *n* was symbolized.

77. It seems hardly worth while to give details of the forms assumed by the 'abbreviation-symbol' of *m* in the minuscule of different countries and writing-centres, since many scribes do not confine themselves to one form and most scribes make no distinction between the symbol of *m* and the general abbreviation-stroke. Insular (especially Irish) scribes are an exception. The normally reserve a stroke curved backward (or hooked) at each (or one) end for *m* see below, s. v. 'U'): so that we can always be sure what an Irish scribe means by (let us say) *a* with a stroke above. With the 'm'-stroke it will mean *am*. With the ordinary abbreviation-stroke it will mean *aut*. The peculiarly South Italian m-stroke, like a small numeral 3 (see 'Introd.' facs. 120, from a Monte Cassino MS. of 874-893, not "812") hardly came into use till after our period. The other shapes, so far as they call for mention, may best be mentioned in an account of the general abbreviation-stroke itself. (On the ligatures *no*, *on*, *ns*, *nt* see s. vv. 'O', 'S', 'T'.).

78. A curious variety of *n* (the majuscule shape) found in the Merovingian minuscule of London Harl. 5041 (as in the Bobbio uncial of Milan B 159 sup. perhaps deserves notice (Pl. I 49). It might suggest *at* to transcribers (cf. § 114). *Tamen* might be mistaken for *tameat* and altered to *timeat* or *tumeat*.

O.

79. Just as the letter *i* was made more observable by being elongated ('i longa'), so in Merovingian cursive the letter *o* takes the form of Greek minuscule Delta, a form often

(1) I. e. put after the preceding vowel. It is, I think, wrong to speak of this as a device to eke out the length of the line and not leave a blank space at the end. For the scribe often puts the m-stroke in the margin, outside the line.

assumed by the letter *d* in Insular minuscule (see above. s. v.). In the book-hands of Merovingian type, e. g. the Luxeuil script, the Laon az-script, the "N. E. France" script, the Corbie ab-script, we find this 'Delta'-form of *o* much in evidence. For an example from the last named script, see 'Introd.' facs. 128, line 1. And it occasionally shews itself in other script of the 8th. century, e. g. in Epinal 68 (of the year 744). In the Merovingian book-hand of Berne 611 it is sometimes indistinguishable in ligatures from Insular cursive *e* (§ 27); *or* resembles *er*, etc.

80. 'Subscript' *o* is, like 'subscript' *i*, a feature of Insular script, although (unlike *i*) it is never found in Continental. Oftenest after *m* (Pl. I 50), *n*, *h*, and the ligature *ti* (see below, s. v. 'T'), but also after *u*, *l*, *d* (e. g. in the Lindisfarne Gospels), *i* (e. g. in Durham A II 17). In the Welsh Liber Commonei it is attached to the 'tongue' of cursive Insular *e* to form *eo*. 'Suprascript' *o* is, in our period, almost as rare in Insular script as 'suprascript' *a*. It appears in two specimens of Anglosaxon script which may come from the same scriptorium (Echternach?), viz. the Maihingen Gospels (middle of 8.th cent.) and Paris 9382. They offer *os* (Pl. I 51), *or*, *om*, *on*, usually so written. In Irish it shews itself at the very close of our period in the St Gall Priscian (written in Ireland, probably in 845), where one of the scribes, Finguine, writes *om*, etc., as in Pl. I 52. It is, like 'subscript' *o*, unknown to Continental book-hand.

81. The nearest approach to 'subscript' *o* in Continental script is the combination *ro* (see 'Introd.' facs. 114, line 4; 119, line 10), in which howerer the *o* does not normally come below the line. This combination (the branch of *r* usually high and angular) is a prominent feature of most Continental minuscule (not Visigothic nor Beneventan) of the 8.th century; and indeed till the end of our period, e. g. by one scribe of Paris 11533 Bible (Corbie, of 850), in Oxford Laud. misc. 120 (written at Würzburg, 842-855), in Liége 306 (written at St Trond in 834). One scribe of a Murbach MS., Oxford Jun. 25, foll. 1-59 ("8 cent.") writes it quite like *no*. It appars in the Anglosaxon minuscule of Tours in London Egerton 2831.

Of other combinations in which *o* is attached to a preceding consonant the commonest are *co* ('Introd' facs. 114,

line 7), *to* (facs. 126, line 7, line 8), *fo, eo, go, no*. Even Insular scribes occasionally write *mo* (and *no*) as in Pl. I 53, instead of with 'subscript' *o*.

These combinations are 8.th century usages and indicate that Continental book-hand has not yet fully discarded the practice of cursive. The *o* often terminates in an upward stroke which suggests the Merovingian 'Delta'-form.

82. The combination *os*, in 'ligature'-form (Pl. I 54) or as a mere 'union' (Pl. I 55), is a device of uncial and half-uncial scribes for saving space at the end of a line, and is similarly employed by some minuscule scribes, e. g. in Munich 4547, a MS. written for Princess Kisyla, Charlemagne's sister. Of the combinations in which *o* precedes a consonant the most universal is *or* (see below, s. v. 'R'), in which the *r* is usually sacrificed to the *o*, as much as *n* in a common uncial form of *on* (Pl. I 56). On the rare ligature *oe* see § 6.

P.

83. The round of *p* in minuscule script (as in half-uncial and the later stages of uncial) stands on the line; and when the lower part of the round does not reach as far as the shaft, we have the 'open' form of the letter (see 'Introd.' facs. 119, 124, 129, etc.). Statistics of the use of 'open' *p* have not yet been collected (except that in Beneventan script only close *p* is reported), but it appears that a very open form of *p* is a mark of antiquity, as in 'Introd' facs. 142 (from the Anglo-saxon minuscule of the Moore Bede, written c. 773, with *p* often dangerously like Insular *r*).

84. A form like Greek minuscule Rho characterizes North Italian cursive (see 'Introd.' facs. 114, from the Milan Maximus). In Visigothic cursive too it is known, but often takes the form of an *o* perched on the top of the shaft of the letter (see 'Introd.' facs. 115, line 8).

85. Cursive scribes threw open the left side of the round of *p* by attaching the upper curve to a preceding letter and beginning the under-shaft of *p* at the foot of the round. (On a similar formation of *d* and *q* see §§ 20, 87-89). In the Continental minuscule of our period (in Beneventan till long after our period) three of these ligatures are current everywhere except in Spain, viz. *sp* (see 'Introd' facs. 114, line 5), *rp*,

xp (facs. 114, line 3). The second is confusible with *sp* when the branch of the *r* is not (as usual) angular. And *sp*, when narrower than usual, is confusible with that ligature by which a Continental scribe expressed *fi* and an Insular, *si* (see above, s. v. 'I'). The leaf-shaped *ep* (see 'Introd.' facs. 114, line 6) has already been discussed (s. v. 'E'). Like *ap* (with 'suprascript' *a*), *op, tp*, it belongs to the earlier half of our period; although *rop* (facs. 128, line 3) appears even in a MS. written for Charlemagne's sister, Princess Kisyla (Munich 4577, in 'propter' fol. 91r). The *ep* ligature has other shapes too (see, e. g., 'Introd.' facs. 115, line 9).

86. The only approach to this cursive Continental *p* in Insular script is a form which might usually (or often) rather be described as 'open at the top' (Pl. I 57). It is a feature of Insular half-uncial and of some (early) specimens of Insular minuscule: although it turns up occasionally in Continental script (e. g. fol. 169v of Verona 37), especially for initial P. (On an analogous formation of Insular *q* see below, s. v.).

Q.

87. The minuscule form (like our q) is also the uncial and the half-uncial. A half-uncial variety (seen in 'Introd.' facs. 98) with the lower part of the round of *q* (as of *p*) not continued to the shaft does not seem to occur in the minuscule of our period. By 'open' *q* is meant rather a *q* in which the upper part of the round is not closed. Of 'open' *q* much the same may be said as of 'open' *p* (see above, s. v.). Statistics have not yet been collected, except that in Beneventan script only close *q* is reported. A very 'open' variety, in which the curve breaks away at once from the shaft (Pl. I 57) is a feature of such early specimens of Insular minuscule as St John's Gospel in the Book of Mulling (written by the Irish saint Moling, who died in 696); the marginalia in the Codex Fuldensis (witten probably by St. Boniface, who died in 755); the similar marginalia (also by Boniface?) in the Cassel Hegesippus; the marginalia in the Douce Primasius; Petrograd Q. I 15 (Anglosaxon of Corbie?).

88. In most of the Insular minuscule and half-uncial of our period *q* is often more or less 'open', a common type having the left side of the round turned back at the top

(Pl. I 59); and this left side is sometimes (Pl. I 60) angular instead of curved. (On a similar formation of *d* and *p* see §§ 25, 85). Equally 'open' is a variety which in Continental minuscule is confined to the earlier stages. It resembles the letter *u* with the second upright prolonged below the line, and its dangerous resemblance to the ligature *ui* (with 'subscript' *i*) has already been mentioned (s. v. 'I'). This variety is a feature of the writing of Winithar, the famous scribe of St Gall in the middle of the 8.th century; it appears (along with the closed form) in the Tours Eugippius ("beg. 8 cent."), etc., and in Merovingian book-hand often has the shaft not perpendicular but slanting down (sinuously) to the right. But 'close' *q* is no evidence of a later date. For example, in the Luxeuil type of Merovingian script (see 'Introd.' facs. 124) *q* is 'open' only when connected with a preceding letter.

89. This connexion of 'open' *q* with a preceding *o* (see 'Introd.' facs. 126, line 5) or *e* (facs. 128, line 3) or *s*, etc., is an early feature of all Continental and Insular minuscule: e. g. *eq* in the Milan Hegesippus, of c. 700; *rq* in Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg. 81 (of 772); *sq* in the Book of Mulling, Vienna 16, Vienna 954 (all of "c. 700"). It catches the eye in the "N. E. France" minuscule (of Autun 20 and Montpellier Ville 3, etc.) more perhaps than in any other script; for in such ligatures as *aq* little remains of the round of the *q* except the lowest part.

R.

90. We may, with convenience if not with strict accuracy, distinguish 5 *r*'s in the minuscule of our period. Three of them stand on the line (being of the height of the other shaftless letters): (1) the 'uncial' variety (Pl. I 60), (2) the 'half-uncial' (Pl. I 62), (3) the 'minuscule' (Pl. I 63). Two of them, in cursive fashion, beginning at the same height above the line, fall below as far as letters like *p* and *q*: the 'cursive' with (4) rounded (Pl. I 64) or (5) angular shoulder (Pl. I 65). The first three represent three successive steps of departure from the original type (R) standing on the line; the last two similarly of departure from the same type placed partly above and partly below the line. All five (but especially no. 5) may be sloping (upwards from left to right) instead of perpendicular.

91. Of these five minuscule varieties we may roughly say that nos. 1, 2, 4 are Insular, nos. 3, 5 Continental. And in most Continental minuscule we find no. 5 reserved for its proper 'cursive' function, to express *r* when witten in ligature (or at least in connexion) with a following letter. One ligature however is written with *r* standing on the line, the ligature *ri*. For example, 'Introd.' facs. 119 exhibits the 'minuscule' variety everywhere, except that in *re* (lines 6, 10) and *ro* (line 10) the 'cursive' angular variety appears, and in *ri* (lines 3, 7, 9) the same angular form stands on the line (the i-appendage curving far below the line; cf. § 56). This prevailing usage in the (earlier) script of our period (cf. facs. 114, 127, etc.) became stereotyped in the rules of Beneventan script, viz. that final [1] *r* has a short stem (i. e. stands on the line) while the stem of every other *r* (being in this script connected with the following letter) is long (i. e. goes below the line), except the *r* of the ligature *ri*. (For details see Loew 'Benev. Scr.' p. 137; and for an illustration from Beneventan minuscule a little later than our period, 'Introd.' facs. 120, taken from a MS. of 874-893, not "812").

92. The calligraphers of North Italy (and some other writing-centres) loved to extend the 'arm' of 'minuscule' *r*. Thus in a London MS., Cotton Nero A ii, apparently written at Verona, the next letter seems to stand quite at an interval from the *r*. Often they wrote the next letter (or letters under the elevated 'arm'. In the Cambrai half-uncial of Cambrai 441 we find often a 'high' form of *r* with a long 'arm' stretched above the letters which follow (e. g. in 'tranquilla' on fol. 197 the arm of the 'high' *r* stretches above ***an***).

93. We have seen (s. v. 'N') that the resemblance of the usual half-uncial *r* (see 'Introd.' facs. 99, 100) to the letter ***n*** (in the form of our n) led to the exclusive use in Continental half-uncial of the capital (and uncial) form of *n* (like our N), whereas Insular half-uncial included both forms of the letter ***n***. Insular minuscule scribes were apprehensive of the dangerous

[1] It is only, as a rule, in the earlier part of our period that minuscule scribes (of any country) so far neglect the division of words as to connect the final letter of one word with the initial of another. An example of final ***r*** so maltreated will be found in 'Introd.' facs. 131, line 1 'cor' from a MS. of the year 744.

resemblance of this *r* (no. 2 in our list) to *n*. A few admit the no. 3 variety along with no. 2 (e. g. the Murbach scribes of Colmar 38, part ii). A few confine themselves (in the main) to the no. 1 variety (e. g. the Ratisbon scribes of Munich 14080 and 14653). But most found safety in the use of no. 4, the normal form of *r* in Insular minuscule. It may be said that by so doing they courted another danger, the confusion of *r* with *s*; for Insular *s* falls below the line (see below, s. v.). Still although the confusion of these two letters usually points to an Insular ([1]) minuscule exemplar, the error may be charged to Continental transcribers who were accustomed to a short-stemmed *r* and an *s* (taller than *r*) which stood on the line and therefore failed to notice the difference between the two unfamiliar forms. In reality there is a marked difference between Insular *r* with fully developed 'arm' and Insular *s* with a mere stump in place of an arm (see, e. g., 'Introd.' facs. 142), although the hurry or carelessness of a scribe might occasionally almost efface it.

94. The distinguishing features were most apt to disappear in ligatures, and this is true also of Continental minuscule (see above, s. v. 'P' on the ligatures *rp* and *sp*; and below, s. v. 'S'). Anyone unfamiliar with the Corbie ab-type is apt to mistake its *r* for *s*. And yet it really keeps the two letters quite distinct. While its *r* falls below the line, its *s* (except in ligatures) stands on the line (see 'Introd.' facs. 128). On the resemblance of Insular *r* to a very open form of *p* see above, s. v. 'P'; of Continental *r* to a small form of *s*, see below, s. v. 'S'). A Merovingian type of *r* (see 'Introd.' facs. 126, line 2 'necessaria') is sometimes suggestive of *s*.

95. Of the ligatures (or connexions) of *r* with a following letter two have already been mentioned, *ri* (§ 56) and *ro* (§ 81). Not until the close of our period does *re* (with the 'angular' variety of *r* disappear from Caroline minuscule. The connexion *rg* belongs, as a rule, to an earlier stage (e. g. occasionally in the Maurdramnus Bible of 772-780), but survives in Beneventan script (e. g. Vat. lat. 3313, a 9.th century

([1]) That the Insular script of German scriptoriums made the confusion easy is a statement (by Schnetz 'Neue Untersuchungen zu Valerius Maximus', p. 6) for which I should like to see the proof.

MS. of Benevento): also in Paris 13373 (Corbie, of 817-835). On *rt* see s. v. 'T'; on *rp*, s. v. 'P'; on *ru*, s. v. 'U'.

96. Of the ligatures of *r* with a preceding letter the most important is *or*, in which the uncial form of *r* is generally found wanting the stem. In line 7 of 'Introd., facs. 152 an example will be found with a less usual extension of the 'leg' of the *r* (R) under the line. The ligature (like the rarer *ur*, *pr*) was an inheritance from uncial script (cf. facs. 89, line 4), although in the latter part of our period some scribes seem to treat the r-portion (in the form of our numeral 2 in small size) as if it were a separate letter (cf. 'Introd.' facs. 154, line 8 for a poor example). And after our period this new 2-form of *r* appears after *e* as well as after *o* (e. g. in the Welsh minuscule Corpus Martianus Capella; although the *or*-ligature is rather a Continental than an Insular usage). On *tr* see below, s, v. 'T'.

S.

97. Halfway between the 'uncial' form (our s) and the 'half-uncial' form (Pl. I 83) stands what may be called the cursive form (Pl. I 66). Apart from the 'union' *os* (see § 82) and the like, this last form hardly appears, except occasionally at the end of a line, in the minuscule of our period. It usually stands partly above and partly below the line.

98. In the preceding section we found a distinction in early (Continental) usage between 'short-stemmed' *r* (standing on the line) and 'long-stemmed' *r* falling below the line), the latter being reserved for ligatures (or connexions) of *r* with a following letter. Something of the same kind applies to *s*. (Contrast in 'Introd.' facs. 129 the *s* in the ligature *st* with the form of the unconnected letter). But many (or rather most) Continental scribes came to write normally *s* on the line and not allow it to fall (to any perceptible extent) below. (Statistics of the divergence of practice have not yet been collected). While therefore in Insular minuscule both *r* and *s* fall below the line and are to a certain degree confusible (see § 93), in this Continental minuscule both stand on the line and *s* is usually a higher letter than *r*. Even a short *s* in this Continental minuscule (e. g. Visigothic *s*) does not resemble

r so much as it resembles a form (undotted) of *y* (see below, s. v.).

99. We have seen the reasons which impelled Insular minuscule scribes to use the 'uncial' variety of *r* (§ 93). The same scribes make great use of the 'uncial' form of *s*, probably with the view of avoiding the confusion of *s* and *r*, and sometimes utilize the variety to express *ss* (usually in the order, half-uncial followed by uncial). In the rude imitation of Insular half-uncial which we find in the Gatien Gospel (written at Tours) I noticed only the 'uncial' form of *s*.

100. 'Subscript' *s* (the 'half-uncial' form) is a peculiarity of Insular script. In the Berne Horace it is found literally subscript, but most scribes write, e. g., *ns* with the left extremity of the *s* attached to the right extremity of the *n*. When 'subscript' *s* is attached to 'subscript' *i* (e. g. *nis*), the hanging group spoils the regularity of the script in a way that no Caroline minuscule scribe would tolerate. On 'split-backed' *s* see above, s. v. 'F'.

101. The curious expression of *ss* seen in line 2 of 'Introd.' fasc. 114 ('potuissent') deserves mention as a peculiarity (a cursive usage) of North Italian scribes. It is generally confusible with *ns*.

102. The ligature of *n* (in the form N) and *s* is almost as common (especially in majuscule script) as that of N and T. The *s* usually takes the 'uncial' or the 'cursive' form, but is sometimes reduced to a mere curve (the upper part of s) projecting upwards from the upper right extremity of the N (similarly *us* which resembles 'is'; similarly *os*, etc.). The rare ligature *sc* with the lower half of *c* hanging from the centre of the 'branch' of Insular *s*) in the Northumbrian minuscule of Cambridge Trin. 216 (written by Bede ?) might easily be confused with *k*. A more prevalent feature of early Insular minuscule is the 'union' *bs* (especially in the ending 'bus', with 'suprascript' *u*). On the 'knob-backed' *s* (the 'half-uncial form, standing on the line or at least barely projecting below) which is a characteristic feature of that calligraphic minuscule practised in the Corbie scriptorium in the abbacy of Maurdramnus (772-780), see above, s. v. 'F'.

T.

103. The short cross-beam, often barely perceptible (a mere hair-line) which makes *t* in Rustic Capitals and early Uncials often confusible with the letters *i* and *l*, is unknown to Minuscules (and Half-uncials). The Insular minuscule script of some centres (e. g. Fulda) frequently goes to the other extreme and prolongs unduly the cross-beam (sometimes tapering and with a slight upward slant; sometimes stretching over the preceding as over the following letter, so that *atu* with open *a* exhibits five uprights crowned with one horizontal stroke). And when the majuscule size of the letter ('high' *t*) is admitted into minuscule script whether for the sake of variety or to save space at or near the end of a line or in the ligature of N with T, e. g. 'Introd.' facs. 153) the cross-beam, whether straight or sinuous, is never stinted in length.

104. The Insular *t* (Pl. I 87) is recognized also by most Continental scribes, although they often make the left end of the cross-beam curve downwards. This curve may be continued until it meets the stem and becomes a (more or less circular loop. 'Looped' *t* is the Visigothic form confusible with *a*, but not with Visigothic *a*, which is 'open'; see 'Introd.' facs. 116). It became the Beneventan form too; but hardly until after our period, throughout which the 'curved' form seems to prevail. The two forms compete in 'Introd.' facs. 120, taken from a Monte Cassino MS. of 874-893 not "812"). They compete also in Murbach minuscule (see facs. 129, taken from a Murbach MS.), in the Corbie en-type, in Burgundian minuscule, and so on. In an Echternach MS., Paris 9530 (of "8-9 cent." one scribe uses the 'looped', another the 'Insular' variety. 'Looped' *t* may invade even the Insular script of some Continental centres; witness its occasional appearance in Paris 9525 ("end 8 cent."), written at Echternach.

105. Not 'looped' but 'curved' *t* is the usual competitor with Insular *t* in St Gall minuscule. Winithar affects the 'curved' form. In St Gall 126 one scribe uses the 'curved' form, another the 'Insular'. But the statement (by Glogger 'Das Leidener Glossar', part i, p. 5) that this form with a pronounced curve (like a small *c*) is "especially common at St Gall" is a dangerous guide; for, as we have seen, the

'curved' form seems commoner than the 'looped' in the earlier stages of Beneventan minuscule and appears even in an early specimen of Visigothic, Autun 27, not to mention its frequent occurrences elsewhere (e. g. in the Corbie Leutchar type). An upward curved right end of the cross-beam is affected for *t* at the end of a line by various Continental scribes which makes the letter exactly like the symbol of *tur* (and, after c. 815, *tus*). If we find in a MS., e. g., *amatur* (-*tus*) for *amat*, we have some ground for guessing that the word stood at the end of the line in the exemplar.

106. A variety of Insular *g* has been mentioned in which the right half of the cross-beam is wanting, so that *g* takes some resemblance to *z*. We find the same variety of *t* especially, but by no means only, in Insular script; e. g. it is a prominent feature of the Lorsch MS., Vat. Pal. 195. The angle sometimes becomes a curve in the Anglosaxon minuscule of a MS. in the same collection, Vat. Pal. 235; and on the minuscule leaf (fol. 116) of the Book of Durrow we actually find *t* written like reversed S (in the word 'transgressor'). Another Insular affectation, which makes *t* resemble *ti* (with 'subscript' *i*) has already been mentioned (§ 58). In Insular script is 'winged' *t*, in which the cross-beam takes high curves on the right and left, like the wings of a bird preparing to fly (Pl. I 67). It may be the origin of that *t* by which we detect the hand of a Constance scribe (Pl. I 68).

107. Of forms whereby space is saved (at or near the end of a line, to secure correct syllable-division) the 'high' form has already been mentioned (and the ligature of N and T along with U and T, e. g. facs. 98, line 3 end). Visigothic scribes prefer 'suprascript' *t* (a usage not unknown to other scribes), and when *t* stands upon *i* the 'high' form of *t* is reproduced. In Visigothic script this denotes *it*. Insular scribes prefer 'subscript' *t*, especially in *nt*, but also in *it* (and even *nit*, *uit*, *nti*, *uti*, all with 'subscript' *i*).

108. Another variety of this Protean letter, but only found in ligatures, characterizes North Italian (cursive) script. We may call it 'recumbent' *t*, for the letter, instead of standing upright, leans on its side, e. g. *ct* (§ 17). A mistake like *rum* for *st* should suggest an early North Italian exemplar, like

Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg. 64 or Milan L 99 sup. (both written at Bobbio) in which this 'recumbent' *t* is, to all appearance, reduced to a mere cross-stroke down through the (extended) arm of the *s* (Pl. I 69) and exactly resembles the common abbreviation-symbol of *rum*. (Contrast the Beneventan *st* of 'Introd' facs. 120, line 1).

109. A Visigothic variety which, like the North Italian 'recumbent' *t*, is proper (but not wholly confined) to ligatures we may call 'circular' *t* (Pl. I 70). It resembles Greek minuscule Alpha and sometimes invites confusion with *o*. In other Continental this circular letter denotes *c* in ligatures, but in Visigothic *t*. Thus in 'Introd.' fasc. 114, line 6 the *ce* of 'particeps' is so written by a North Italian. A Spanish transcriber would interpret it as *te*, although he often writes *te*, etc. with an apparent double circle (Pl. I 71), the 'loose ends' of the 'Alpha' being continued towards the *e*. A group like *tto* presents an extraordinary appearance (like four successive o's) when written in this fashion.

110. The ligatures of this Protean letter (more multiform than *e* itself: § 31) are of importance for the palaeographer. In 'ancient minuscule' (i. e. cursive pressed into service as book-hand in scholia, marginal indexes, ete.) *t* is often represented by a mere horizontal stroke. For example, in the marginalia of the Bologna Lactantius the *t* of 'ratio' looks like a mere hyphen between the 'open' *a* and the 'i longa'. This ancient usage (frequent in North Italian cursive and elsewhere) is conserved by Insular scribes (mainly in the ligature *et*). In the Anglosaxon half-uncial of Durham A II 17 we find it at the ends of lines: *it*, *at*, *nt*, etc. are there expressed by *i*, *a*, *n*, etc. followed by a long horizontal stroke. (Similarly in the Lindisfarne and Maihingen Gospels.) Since the same scribe affects at line-endings a lengthening of the 'tongue' of *e* (the 'arm' of *r*, etc.), a transcriber would be prone to mistake his *e* so written for *et*, and errors like *faceret* for *facere* would arise. In the Boniface Gospels 'dicunt' (on fol. 9ᵛ) is written as *dicun* followed by a horizontal stroke. The Insular *et* ligature shews this horizontal stroke accompanied beneath by the lower curve of *t* (see 'Introd.' facs. 135; 136; 137 column ii, line 1), the horizontal stroke being often sinuous

(see facs. 142, line 4; 143, line 15); and this expression [1] of *et* is the old expression found in the 'ancient minuscule' of the Bologna Lactantius and Escurial Augustine marginalia and the 'quarter-uncial' of the Sessorian Augustine (Rome, Bibl. Vitt. Eman., Sess. 55), and even (at the ends of lines) the uncial of the Oxford Eusebius Chronicles.

111. Continental scribes write the ligature differently (like Pl. I 86, as in our 'etc.' symbol), and one scribe of Munich 28118 (a MS. presented by Benedict of Aniane to the abbot of Trèves and written probably at Trèves, at the end of the 8.th century) employs both the Insular and the Continental form of the ligature. In this Continental *et* ligature the t-portion often ends in a tag to the left, which prevents confusion (§ 133) with the *ec* ligature ('Introd.' facs. 120, line 2).

112. In ligatures like *nt* the analogous expression of *t* resembles a sucker rising from the ground (see 'Introd.' facs. 126, line 11 'sunt'; facs. 128, line 2 'student'), the ground being represented by the extended base of the second upright of the *n*. This form of *nt* is unknown to Insular script. Similar, but confined to an earlier stage, is the *at* ligature (seen in facs. 131, line 10).

113. Visigothic ligatures of *nt, at*, etc. make the *t* confusible with *c* (Pl. I 72), *nuntius* resembling *nuncius*, *natio* resembling *nacio*, and so on. This c-form of the t-stroke appears as early as the marginalia of the Escurial Augustine, e. g. 'atende' (like 'acende'), along with the 'hyphen'-form, e. g. 'gratias' (in the subscription 'deo gratias', with a 'hyphen'-stroke between 'open' *a* and 'i longa'. It may be a developement of the 'hyphen'-form, the 'hyphen' being added without lifting the pen. If so, the body of the c-mark is correctly described as a mere connecting line and does not properly represent the stem of *t*.

114. In the Laon az-script, etc. the 'hyphen'-mark in *nt, it*, etc. becomes oblique instead of horizontal and is attached to the middle of the *n* or *i* (Pl. I 73). It seems a half-way stage between the original 'hyphen' attached to the top of the letter (as in the Insular half-uncial examples mentioned above)

[1] Less frequent is the variety (Pl. I 85) found in the Anglosaxon script of Durham A II 16 (half-uncial), London Cotton Tib. C ii and Vesp. B vi.

and the subsequent 'sucker' rising upwards from the base of the letter. But until statistics have been collected (especially from early charters) the history of these ligatures must remain doubtful. Certainly the Constance scribes regarded the 'sucker' as the equivalent of the stem and not of the cross-beam of the *t*, for they crown it with that small half-circle mark which, as we have seen, they substitute for the cross-beam of unligatured *t* (§ 106).

115. Some statistics have been collected for ligatures of *t* with a following letter (by Loew 'Stud. Pal.'), but a fuller list would be welcome. The most important of these ligatures is *ti*. We have seen (s. v. 'I') that the practice was to make the *i* an appendage of the *t*. This appendage usually took the form of a long curve passing below the line. To append this curve conveniently to the cross-beam of the *t*, the cross-beam was tilted upwards on the left and the whole letter sloped to the right instead of remaining perpendicular. The 'Insular' form of *t* with *i* thus appended became as in Pl. I 74 or (with the under curve of the *t* continued a little further) as in Pl. I 10 'unigeni*ti*', 11 'gra*ti*ae'. This is the natural form of the *ti* ligature for all scribes who use Insular *t*. It is confusible with *q* ('activam' with 'ac quam'). Still more with the Insular abbreviation symbol of 'qui' (*q* with *i* above) when the long curve becomes a perpendicular line and the *t* is shifted round more to the right. The 'curved' and the 'perpendicular' forms appear side by side in such MSS. as Vat. lat. 491 (Irish minuscule of Bobbio).

116. When 'looped' *t* was used the ligature became like a reversed Greek minuscule Beta, either sloping to the left or upright, and either with curved or perpendicular back. The 'reversed Beta' form is never used by the scribes who never used 'looped' *t*, i. e. Insular scribes, whether in the ligature *ti* or in the analogous formations of *te*, *tu*, etc. (see 'Introd.' facs. 124, line 1. 'te', line 2 'tu', line 5 'ti'; 125, line 1 'ti', 'te', 'tu'). Their rare appearance in the Insular script of Continental scriptoriums (e. g. *te* and *ti* occasionally in the Anglosaxon minuscule of a Fulda MS., Cassel theol. Q. 6) stamps them as Continental intruders ([1]).

([1]) The resemblance of 'Insular' *t* in ligatures (other than *ti*) to *a* (the 'uncial' form; § 1) is probably the reason why *ti* is the only ligature of this

117. The separation of the two loops of the 'reversed Beta' is an early feature, e. g. *ti* as in Pl. I 75), *tr* in the Bobbio MSS., Vienna 16 (of "c. 700") and Milan L 99 sup. ("mid. 8 cent.").

118. The ligature *tri* (from 'Insular' *t*) has in the Anglosaxon script of Echternach the form seen in Pl. I 76. A peculiarly Insular form of the *ti* ligature, which with 'subscript' *o* expresses *tio* (see Pl. I 14 'resurrec*tio*nem') and with 'subscript' *s*, *tis* (see Pl. I 15 'men*tis*'), will be found in Pl. I 12 '*ti*muerunt', 13 'vestimenta'. It has been analysed above (§ 54) into *t* with superimposed Insular cursive 'i longa'. The formation of the *tr* ligature ofter this pattern (Pl. I 77) seems to be a malformation on false analogy of the *tis* ligature and should properly express 'tir' rather than *tr*. Another malformation turns up here and there, the substitution of the 'Continental' cursive *e* (see § 28) for *t* in ligatures, especially *ti* (Pl. I 78). Transcribers would be justified in interpreting this as *ei*. A third is the use (in early North Italian cursive: also in the Boniface marginalia of the Codex Fuldensis and the 'ancient minuscule' in Paris 13367 and the marginalia of the Douce Primasius) of the ancient Nota of *tio* (Pl. I 79) to express *ti*. Its difference from the commoner form of the *ti* ligature is very slight. It merely wants the projecting stroke (the left half of the cross-beam of the *t*) above the loop, and such MSS. as Milan D. 268 inf. (North Italian cursive shew the ligature sometimes wanting this projection but with pear-shaped, not circular loop. A fifth (hardly a ligature) is that extraordinary expression of *tio* by what ought to express 'toi' (Pl. I 80), which is confined to 'ancient minuscule' (e. g. of Paris 12214 + Petrograd Q. I 4, of. 6 cent).

119. The 'reversed Beta' ligatures are a criterion not only of Continental provenance, but of date. In Beneventan script indeed the *te*, *tu* ligatures as wel as *ti*; see below) survive long after our period (see Loew 'Ben. Scr.' p. 148 for details), and also in Visigothic (e. g. *tr* in Madrid Bibl. Acad. Hist. 25,

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form favoured by the scribes of our Islands, and why *tr* was expressed by another form (see below). However *te* (resembling *ae*) appears in the Book of Armagh and is not rare in some Continental centres of Insular minuscule, e. g. Echternach.

of 946; *tr*, *te* in Madrid Tol. 15, 12, of 915; *to, tr, ti* in Madrid Tol. 10, 25, of 902). But outside of Italy and Spain they hardly occur after Charlemagne's time (e. g. *ti, te* in a Salzburg MS., Munich 210, of 818; *ti* in a Freising MS., Munich 6262, of. 854-875, in which however the misuse of the ei-ligature for *ti* is also in vogue; § 118).

120. Another useful criterion is the *st* ligature (see 'Introd.' facs. 143, line 9 'astra'), a ligature found occasionally even in the half-uncial of the Basilican Hilary. It is a Continental, not an Insular usage, and its occurrence in Insular script is proof of provenance from some Continental scriptorium where Insular script was practised. A scribe of our Islands would write *st* as it appears in line 13 of the facsimile just mentioned ('baptista'), with the arm of *s* never actually touching the top of *t*. The distinction is a fine one, and it stands to reason that the idiosyncrasies of individual scribes or the hurry of writing would be likely on occasion to cross the forbidden line. So that the rule is not devoid of exceptions. Line 9 of this facsimile furnishes one; for the plate comes from a MS. written in Mercia. The Book of Cerne too uses the ligature. It was the prayer-book of Bp. Ethelwald of Lindisfarne (of Lichfield?). So does London Royal 2 A xx. So do the Northumbrian MSS., Durham A II 16 (although one of the scribes avoids it), Durham B II 30, London Cotton Tib. A xiv and Tib. C ii, Cambridge Trin. 216 ("de manu Baedae"). On the other hand some foreign specimens of Insular script are free from it: e. g. Metz 76 Prophetae (in the part written by the first scribe; for the second scribe allows it); Munich 6237 (written at Freising by Peregrinus, c. 780; Colmar 38, part ii (written at Murbach, "8 cent."). These three examples are all Anglosaxon. In spite of these exceptions we must regard the presence of the *st* ligature in Insular script (e. g. in St Gall 51 Gospels, in Irish half-uncial) as fair evidence of Continental provenance. Often it is difficult to say whether there is actually a ligature or merely close proximity of the two letters with the stem of the *t* immediately under the end of the branch of the *s*.

121. The *ct* ligature has been described above (§ 17). It too is Continental, not Insular (a Continental intrusion in a rather cursive part of the Anglosaxon minuscule of a Werden

MS., Berlin th. Q. 139, foll. 61v-63v). So is the *rt* ligature which is usually clearly distinguishable, with its angular shoulder (cf. 'Introd.' facs. 154, line 7 'participes'), from the *st* ligature (cf. line 6 'abstinentes'), although the confusion of the two by transcribers (often late transcribers to whom the *rt* ligature was unfamiliar) is by no means rare.

122. The letters *ti* before a vowel (e. g. in the word *natio*) had in Late and Medieval Latin an assibilated sound (unless *s* preceded, e. g. 'quaestio), which they had not in words like *nati* or *natis*. For the convenience of readers (of the lessons in church or of some pious book in the refectory) isolated attempts were made by scribes of our period to distinguish the two sounds by the writing. The Laon az-script normally (but not rigorously) reserves for the unassibilated sound the 'reversed Beta' ligature (for details see Rev. Bibl. 24, 22). North Italian scribes often reserve the same ligature for the assibilated sound, and this became the strict rule in Beneventan script (hardly in the earliest stages; for details see Loew 'Ben. Scr.' p. 303). In some specimens of the Corbie ab-script the assibilated sound is expressed by *t* with 'i longa' (in the j-form; see § 55) but never very consistently (for details see Rev. Bibl. 24, 24), and this became about a hundred years after our period the Visigothic practice (for details see Loew 'Stud. Pal.', where it is stated that Frankish scribes as a rule preferred to express the assibilated sound by *ci*, e. g. *nacio, gracia, racio*).

U.

123. The danger of confusion between *u* and (open) *a* caused *a*, as we have seen (s. v.), to take certain forms. It operated no less in the formation of *u*. The projection of the right side of *u* below the line avoided this danger. That is an early form found, for example, in the 'ancient minuscule' of the (contemporary?) marginalia of the uncial Bologna Lactantius and in the earliest examples of Insular minuscule, e. g. St John's Gospel in the Book of Mulling (before 696), the Naples Charisius (written at Bobbio "c. 700"); and even later Insular scribes often affect it. When St Molíng writes 'quis', the *q* (in open form) differs from the *u* mainly in the greater length of the projection below the line. Spanish scri-

bes often write initial *U* with this projection so exaggerated that the letter might be mistaken for (open *Q*. (Similarly in a Lyons MS. of Leidrad's time, Lyons 608). And outside of Spain, especially in uncial and half-uncial script, the ligature *ui* (see above, s. v. 'I') is often indistinguishable from *q* (in that open form in which, for example, Winithar, the St Gall scribe of c. 750, loves to write *q*).

124. The v-form of *u* was another preventive of confusion with *a*. It is greatly affected by Welsh (and Cornish) scribes (see my 'Wel. Scr.' for details), but is by no means rare in other script (e. g. it is common in the Anglosaxon script of Vat. Pal. 554, even *vi* with subscript *i*; and the ending 'orum' in the Douai Gospels normally shews this form). It was in its turn confusible with an occasional type of y (see below, s. v.). Indeed a y-form of *u* is sometimes found, with the right-hand stroke coutinued far below the line (as in the Veronese cursive of Verona 33 Augustine de Agone Christiano, in the ending 'rum' on fol. 41^r^, etc.). When the v-form was employed in the ligature *ru* (see 'Introd.' facs. 131, line 4 'lacrimarum'), it somewhat resembled *i*, and the ending 'rum' might be miscopied 'rim'.

125. The letter *u* is, we may say, indistinguishable from *i* in the ligatures *us, un, ut*, etc., ligatures much used in uncial and half-uncial script (as well as minuscule), especially (at least in the older or more calligraphic specimens) at the end of a line. For an example of the ligature 'ut' see Introd. facs. 98, line 4 (from the half-uncial Basilican Hilary). It was at the end of a line that calligraphers welcomed this means of saving space and enabling the word (or syllable) to be completed and not left to straggle into the next line.

126. But the commonest device for economy of space was to write the *u* above the line, and one can hardly turn over the pages of even any uncial or half-uncial MS. without finding 'qui', 'quo', 'quod', etc. (especially, but by no means only, at the ends of the lines) written with suprascript *u*, the most frequently suprascript letter in all Latin script. The Hilary facsimile just mentioned ('Introd.' facs. 98) offers 'aput' so written at the end of line 6; 'quam' near the end of line 9; 'qui' (of 'falsiloquium') and 'quod' in the middle of line 10.

127. Suprascript *u* takes so many forms as to defy accurate classification. We may however specify the following:

(1) a regular v-form, like the sides of a small isosceles triangle.

(2) a regular rounded form, like the lower half of a small circle or oval. This is precisely the mark used in grammatical writings to distinguish a short from a long vowel. In such writings there is danger of confusion. Thus one MS. of Marius Victorinus substitutes *huic*, for *hĭc* (i. e. *hic* with short *i*), the scribe having mistaken the mark of shortness for a suprascript *u* (see Keil 'Gram. lat.' 5, 208, 9); another substitutes *ruoma* for *rŏma* (a mispronunciation of 'Roma'). Keil (ibid. 5, 285, 7) has infortunately admitted this corruption *Ruoma* into his text, from which it has found its way into works on the Romance languages (see Amer. Journ. Phil. 37, 34).

(3) various irregular v-forms, with one or other of the sides exaggerated in length and curved rather than straight. The Hilary facsimile ('Introd.' facs. 98) offers one of these. Spanish scribes affect a form which faces to the left (quite unlike suprascript *a*) and which is occasionally replaced by a mere curve like our apostrophe.

(4) various irregular rounded (lower half-circle) forms. Sometimes the curve is very shallow and broad (as in the half-uncial of Verona 59, where it occasionally approaches to a mere horizontal line); sometimes the right side shoots up in a hair-line, a favourite form with Insular scribes.

(5) a horizontal stroke beginning in a slight curve, an upward curve on the left, a downward curve on the right. This may be a developement of (3) or (4), and the downward curve may be really nothing but the connexion with a following letter. It is exactly identical with the suprascript symbol for *m* used by Insular (and other) scribes (e. g. 'Introd.' facs. 138, line 16 'tantu*m*'). Thus in the half-uncial Verona 42, on fol. 148r at the end of a line, 'quam' is written with this as an expression of *u* (above the *a*) and of *m* (after the *a*). We find this suprascript *u* as early as the 'ancient minuscule' marginalia of the Bembine Terence and of the Escurial Augustine on Baptism. This suprascript m-stroke is often used as a mere abbreviation-stroke, and in such MSS. as Petrograd F. I 5 Tripertite Psalter (in the Leutchar script of Corbie) it plays all three parts of *u*, *m*, abbreviation-stroke.

(6) a form resembling (5), but with the downward curve on the left, the upward on the right; possibly derived from an irregular v-form like that seen in 'Introd.' facs. 83 (from the Herculanean papyrus of a poem on the battle of Actium). This mark too may play in MSS. all the three parts of *u*, *m*, abbreviation-stroke.

(7) a sickle-form, which is often indistinguishable from suprascript *a*). Sometimes it is so narrowed end carelessly written that it would resemble (5) if (5) were written vertically and not horizontally. In the "N. E. France" minuscule the 'sickle' often loses its handle and becomes a mere *c* in shape. (This *c* denotes *m* in Burgundian minuscule, etc., and is by some scribes used as an abbreviation-stroke; for some details see Rev. Bibl. 22, 411). The Laon az-type, which substitutes angles for the curves of *a* (see above, s. v. 'A'), turns the curve of the 'sickle' into something more like a square (or oblong), open on the right.

128. That this expression of *u* in regular 'sickle' form or in irregular form (something like a narrow s with the lower curve incomplete) was proper to suprascript *u* cannot be asserted. For in early (cursive) script of various countries (not of our Islands) it denotes *u* on the line. An example (from a Merovingian book-hand) will be found in 'Introd.' facs. 126, with the more careful sickle-form in the last line ('s*u*nt'), the less careful s-form in line 4 ('-rum'). This cursive *u* is a constant feature of the Merovingian book-hand of London Harl. 5041; Berne 611; St Gall 214; it appears in the cursive marginalia of Paris 10910 Fredegarius (of the year 678) and of Paris 13367 Augustine; in the Luxeuil type of London Add. 11878; in the Spanish cursive passages of Escurial R II 18; in the Veronese cursive of Verona 33 Augustine de Agone Christiano; and occasionally in other early MSS., e. g. Berlin Phill. 1743 Concilia (from Rheims), and even in the ab-type of Donaueschingen 18 Orosius.

129. Suprascript it is of far more frequent occurrence, but always confined to the earlier MSS., a cursive feature which would not be favoured by 9.th century scribes (though we find it, e. g., in Paris 11738, of c. 840, in 'quo', etc.). A spanish example is Verona 89 Breviarium Mozarabicum; an Italian, Vat. lat. 5763 Isidore's Etymologies (written at Bobbio, "beg.

8 cent."). It is regularly used in such Merovingian types as the Luxeuil type (e. g. Paris 9427 the Luxeuil Lectionary), the Laon az-type (see above), the "N. E. France" type (see above); not to mention the less cursive Corbie en-type. It is known to Winithar, the St Gall scribe of c. 750 (e. g. St Gall 907); to Thomas, the scribe of the Trèves Gospels: to more than one scribe of Epinal 68 (of the year 744), and so on. In an "8.th cent" MS. from Fleury, Paris nouv. acq. 1597 Paterius, I noticed it in 'qui' (written qi with this s-mark over the right side of the *q*). That expression of 'qui' so common in MSS. of St Gall and Bobbio, etc., the letter *q* followed by a long, narrow s-mark which often begins high above the *q* and is prolonged down to the line, seems to exhibit this cursive *u* combined with subscript *i*. (For a less probable explanation see Zeitschr. celt. Phil. 9, 305). This expression of *ui* is often indistinguishable from the expression of *u*, but is rarely found except after the letter *q*.

130. After the letter *q* however the favourite expression of suprascript *u* before any other vowel, and even sometimes before *i*, is in all Merovingian script.

(8) an arch, bridging the interval between *q* and the following letter (see Rev. Bibl. 24, 21). We find 'que', 'qua', 'quo', etc. regularly so written in the Luxeuil type, the Laon az-type (and its predecessor, the a-type of Petrograd Q. I 14 Gregory's Homilies, from Corbie). Similarly in the early Bobbio script of Milan D 268 inf. (e. g. 'que') and S 45 sup. (e. g. 'qua'), in the early Vercelli 183 (e. g. 'quod' fol. 205, with the arch not connected with the *q*), in Munich Univ. 4.to 3 Sulpicius Severus (e. g. 'qua') with the arch not connected with the *q*). An example from the Laon az-type will be seen in 'Introd.' facs. 125, line 3 'qua', line 4 and line 5 'quod'.

131. Except (1), and (2), and perhaps (3) and (4), all the above-mentioned types of suprascript *u* are capable of playing the part of a mere abbreviation-stroke (and also of an expression of *m*). It remains to specify a form in which the identity of the *u* seems entirely lost,

(9) a horizontal stroke, precisely the same as the usual abbreviation-stroke (and a common symbol of *m*). It seems unwise to attempt to refer this to an exceptionally careless manner of writing *u*. Rather the conventional expression of

suprascript *u* had come to be regarded as the same thing as the abbreviation-stroke and the symbol of *m*. In Cambridge Corp. 304 Iuvencus (of unknown provenance) the abbreviation-stroke is a horizontal straight line with a barb on the left and a dot above the centre. The same plays the part of suprascript *u* (e. g. 'quid' fol. 107r) and of the symbol of *m*. (Further details in my 'Not. Lat.' p. 358, where it is shewn how confusion of, e. g., aūm 'avum' and aūm 'autem' must have resulted from the practice).

X.

132. The *x* of uncial ('Introd.' facs. 91, line 3) and half-uncial script (facs. 100, line 3) consists of a thick stroke down from left to right and a thin stroke down from right to left across it. (The thin stroke is often prolonged below the line). Departures from this normal type in the minuscule of our period are usually capricious and do not offer safe clues to provenance. In Insular script the continuity of the thin cross-stroke is often abandoned for the form seen in facs. 136, line 8; but the same thing is found in some other scripts also, e. g. Visigothic. The Anglosaxon script of Fulda loves to prolong the thin cross-stroke away below the line and to end it with a return-stroke (or a loop) half as long as the projection, but the same trick appears also in, e. g., the Anglosaxon minuscule of a St Bertin MS. Boulogne 63-64. (For this Insular *x* with 'return-stroke' see Pl. I 19 'texunt', from the Leyden Priscian). Two Werden MSS., now at Berlin (th. F 356 and 366, both in Anglosaxon script) end the thin cross-line below with a large claw or comma-mark, but this appendage too is found occasionally in Anglosaxon minuscule of other provenance. (Pl. I 19 shews an example from the Irish minuscule of the Leyden Priscian). Some Continental minuscule scribes begin the thick stroke at the top with a curl which might be mistaken for an *o*, but there is hardly evidence enough for calling this freak by any less vague name than 'Merovingian' (e. g. sometimes in the Laon az-type, in the Luxeuil type, in Cassel theol. Q. 10, etc.). The strange 'high' *x* which appears now and then in our unique specimen of Cornish cursive, Berne 671, is perhaps worthy of mention (see Pl. I 16 'lux', 17 'dixi' 18 'sexta').

133. The ligature *ex* (facs. 126 line 5), with the thin cross-stroke of the *x* continued below the line, was hardly confusible with the ligatures *et* (facs. 127, line 2) or *ec* (see § 111) by transcribers who were familiar with the trio. It was when one or other of the three (first the *ec* ligature, then the *ex*) went out of use that the real danger of confusion arose. And when *ec* went out of fashion and the need of keeping the *et* ligature different from *cc* ceased, *et* came to be written exactly as *ec* had been written in our period. Indeed there are examples of the writing of *et* dangerously like *cc* before then.

Y.

134. One method of forming *y* in uncial script will be seen in 'Introd.' facs. 90, col. ii, line 3. To the thick angular body-stroke is added on the right, opposite the angle, a thin stroke ending in a knob. In half-uncial and minuscule the body-stroke was usually curved (see facs. 136, line 4) instead of angular (and often in uncial too), so that the letter bore some resemblance to half-uncial and minuscule *s*. We may call this the s type. Another we may call the Y-type, for it resembles our capital letter. When the Y-type was reduced in size (in breadth rather than in length) and the v-portion rested on the line, we get the y-type, resembling our ordinary letter y (and often, like it, ending in an upward curl or dot). When the lower strokes of the Y-and y-types are removed or reduced to a minimum, we get the V- and v-types. These five types are really ten, for each may be dotted or undotted. The dot between the two tops of the letter was taken by Roman script from Greek. The minuscule writers of our period seem to insert or omit it at will, just as they do with the dot accompanying an abbreviation-symbol (e. g. sometimes id.ē and sometimes idē for 'id est').

135. A peculiarly Insular variety seems the result of connecting the dot with the left top (see Pl. I 20 'abyssum'). For this is a thing Insular scribes are prone to do. The 'tail', (or reversed apostrophe) of the h-mark which is the Insular abbreviation-symbol of 'autem', the similar 'tail' which they attach to the letter *p* to symbolize 'per', the apostrophe which joins the cross-beam of *g* on the right to symbolize 'igitur', all these seem the result of attaching the dot to *h* and *p* and *g*

without lifting the pen (see my 'Not. Lat.' p. 67). Sometimes (e. g. in two Bobbio MSS. in Irish script, Vat. lat. 491 and Florence Ashburnham. 60) the curves of this 'Insular' *y* become angles and the letter gets the F-form and might be confused with *f*. In Continental script 'Insular' *y* is a feature of the Corbie scriptorium, especially of the Leutchar-type, but also of the (earlier?) en-type, etc. The dot is patently joined by a hair-line to the left top in such Corbie MSS. as Petrograd F. I 5 and 6 (both Leutchar-type) and F. VI 3.

136. A peculiarly Visigothic variety is the 'high' y-type (not the Y-type). It is often so shaped by Spanish scribes as if they meant to suggest *ui*, for a mark like suprascript *u* (see § 127) seems to cap an 'i longa'. And it is difficult to resist the suspicion that they thought of their 'i longa' and 'high y' as related forms. In writing 'ait', 'Cain', 'Achaia', etc. they use now 'i longa', now 'high y', apparently at caprice. Editors are (possibly with reason) reluctant to print 'ayt', 'Cayn', 'Achaya', although they print 'martyr', etc., where precisely the same letter appears.

137. Apart from 'Insular' and 'Visigothic' *y* we get very vague clues to the provenance of a MS. of our period from the way in which *y* is written. Some MSS. offer a variety of types, e. g. a Compiègne MS., Paris 17451, has seven more or less recognizable formations. Perhaps we may say that a y-type is likely to be found in MSS. of Italy, Switzerland and Bavaria, and that the s-type, especially in small size, has its home in France. The great majority of MSS. offer one or other (or both) of this pair, the y-type and the s-type and both are as often dotted as undotted. The dot would save the latter from the danger of confusion with *s*, for the small-sized s-type is very like a small-sized *s*, e. g. Visigothic *s*. Perhaps the likeness had something to do with the choice of 'high' *y* by Spanish scribes. Another way of escaping the danger was to exaggerate the slope of the y-form (towards the right). This produced what we may call 'recumbent' *y* which seems to lie on its side, resting on the line and only slightly projected below. The 'recumbent' form is known to Insular as well as Continental scribes. A Rheims MS., Berlin Phill. 1743, offers a 'recumbent' y-form (small-

sized, with very obtuse angle, and dotted. On an occasional form of *u* resembling *y* see § 124.

Z.

138. Insular minuscule (and half-uncial) is wonderfully consistent in projecting the lower angle in a longish spear or horn (see 'Introd.' facs. 141, line 5). This prevents confusion with a common type of Insular *t* and with the z-variety of Insular *g* (see above, § 45). The upper angle was projected in a longish horn in the Laon az-script (Pl. I 81). Another local variety worthy of mention appears sometimes in North Italian minuscule with the ti-ligature (see § 115), in one or other of its forms, used as the upper part of the *z* (as Pl. I 82, in Vercelli 183 Jerome's de Viris Illustribus, "8 cent."; as Pl. I 83, in Verona 42 Gregory's Pastoralis Cura and in Milan Ambr. C 98 inf. Maximus' Homilies). This is a cursive variety, found in early North Italian documents (Loew 'Stud. Pal.' p. 27). The Visigothic variety which resembles Insular *g* has already been mentioned (§ 38). And it may be worth while to call attention to a unique form (somewhat like Y) found in the Bobbio Missal, Paris 13246 (of unknown provenance), since Delisle in his account of this MS. mistook it for *c* in the word 'Lazarus' (fol. 8r).

For the other varieties, large-sized or small-sized, sloping or upright, with top- and bottom-strokes straight or curved, it is difficult (in the absence of statistics) to find among them any satisfactory tests of place or time. The high form with the top deeply curved (like the lower half of an oval) might easily be mistaken for *an* (with suprascript *a*; § 4).

SOME EARLY SCRIPTS OF THE CORBIE SCRIPTORIUM

BY THE LATE P. LIEBAERT.

[In the obituary notice of Abbé Paul Liebaert in the 'Classical Review' he was declared likely to have become a second Mabillon. That this declaration was not exaggerated I realized when I examined his large collection of photographs (with negatives) of MSS. and his careful notes on a large number of MSS. in a large number of European libraries. These photographs and notes are now in the Vatican Library.

Of all Liebaert's palaeographical projects the one which most interested me was a projected History of the Corbie Scriptorium. Many a talk have I had with him on this fascinating subject. So many that, although he left no written record, I can supply from memory, at least a portion of his discoveries, the three types of Corbie minuscule which preceded what was called by Traube "the old script of Corbie", but is now called 'the ab-script of Corbie'. ED.].

(1) *The en-type* (Plate II).

The earliest in appearance of the three might be called 'the em-type', because a prominent feature is the form of the letter *e* in ligature with such letters as *m*, *r*, etc. But since another prominent feature is its uncial *n*, it seems better to call it by a combination of these two, 'the en-type'; just as we call the type previously mentioned 'the ab-type', because one prominent feature in it is a curious form of *a* and another is a curious form of *b*. Indeed since the eye is caught not only by its *e* (in ligature) and its *n* (of uncial, not often minuscule shape), but also by its *a*, an open letter with thin horns, we might describe it best as 'the ena-type'; but the mention of three letters is unwieldy, so that the name 'the en-type of Cobrie' seems best.

The plate is taken from fol. 8ʳ of a MS. (lat. 13349) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, containing Jerome 'in Ecclesiasten'. The plate is in natural size, like all the plates in this journal. The eye soon detects the peculiarities of this early-looking type of script, a type which it is impossible to mistake or to forget, once one has acquainted himself with the

three prominent features, the beetle-headed *e* in ligatures, the uncial *n*, the open, horned *a*.

Another plate from this MS. will be found in Delisle's 'Cabinet des Manuscrits' (pl. xvi, 2) along with others from its neighbour volumes (with other works of Jerome), lat. 13347 pl. xiii, 2 and lat. 13348 (pl. xiii, 6-7). In Delisle's pl. xiii, 2 a curious form of *y* will be noticed (in the word *aegypto* in the second line). The left branch of the *y* is curved round at the top towards the right. This is an Insular (especially Irish?) form of the letter (see Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie, ix 307), and is a common feature of all types of early Corbie minuscule. Since Corbie was a Luxeuil foundation, it seems reasonable to find in its use at Corbie a trace of Irish influence. Less likely perhaps is the supposition that Insular scribes and Corbie scribes, quite independently of each other, hit upon this device of adding the dot between the two branches of *y* without raising the pen (cf. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, xxxiii 401; and for a similar treatment of the original dot in the Insular 'autem' and 'per' abbreviation-symbols, 'Notae Latinae', p. 180).

Other MSS. (all, like these three, from Corbie Library) in the Corbie en-type are:

Paris 4403A Codex Theodosianus (plate xix, 10 in 'Cab. MSS.' shews the close, not open, *a*).

Paris (ff. 1-52, 74 col. ii — end of MS.) Cassiodore on the Psalms ('Cab. MSS.' pl. xvii, 1).

Paris 13028 Isidore's Etymologies xvi-xx often with close *a*.

Paris 13347 (ff. 1-55) Jerome.

Paris 13348, 13349 Jerome.

Amiens 220 Paterius (part).

Petrograd O. I 4 Cassian's Collations.

(2) *The Leutchar-type* (pl. III).

This is the script of Petrograd F. I 6 Ambrose on St Luke, written at Corbie in the abbacy of Leutchar (middle of eighth century) and corrected by a later abbot of Corbie, Paschasius Ratbert (see Revue des Bibliothèques, xxii 406); also of its neighbour, F. I 5 Tripertite Psalter. Traube (Palaeographische Bemerkungen, p. 1) assigns the two to a 'zwischenstufe zwischen gallischer Halbunciale und Minuskel', a very vague

term under which he includes a variety of quite distinct types. Certainly the half-uncial look of the script, with its avoidance of ligature, is striking, as well as some peculiarities of letter-forms (e. g. the uncial *n* with horizontal cross-stroke on the line). Another example is at Berlin, Staatsbibliothek theol. lat. F. 354 Gregory's Moralia (pl. 5 of Arndt's Scrifttafeln), a volume (presented by Liudger?) from Werden Library. It may have been written at Corbie in Leutchar's time, some 50 years before Werden monastery was founded.

The Insular *r*, just described, is a prominent feature of this type of script (see line 13 of column ii of our plate, *allofylis*), a type represented, so far as I know, by these three MSS. only.

Our plate comes from fol. 1ʳ of Petrograd F. I 6. The reduced size of Staerk's plates of this MS. and its neighbour spoils their value for palaeographical study and gives the reader anything but a true notion of the appearance of the Leutchar-type.

(3) *The Maurdramnus-type* (pll. IV-V).

Maurdramnus, abbot of Corbie 772-780, gave orders for a Bible to be written in several volumes (now n.ᵒˢ 6, 7, 9, 11, 12 in the Bibliothèque Communale of Amiens) and by several scribes. The text is written large (as in our pl. IV, from fol. 74ʳ of n.° 6) for the convenience of the lector in the church-service, but the indexes are in ordinary minuscule size, the size found in other MSS. (as in our pl. V, from fol. 81ᵛ of Petrograd Q. I 16 Jerome's Liber Comitis).

This type is easily distinguishable, with its likeness to careful Caroline minuscule and the prominent knobs at the back of such letters as *f*, *s*. It too, like the other pair of types already mentioned, knows the Insular *r* (with left branch curved towards the right). Of other MSS. which offer good specimens of the script may be mentioned:

Petrograd F. I 13 Origen's Homilies.

Amiens 220 Paterius.

Paris 13373 Orosius, Alcuin, etc.

All three types are older than what Traube called 'the old script of Corbie', a type which is described (with plates) in Revue des Bibliothèques, xxii 405-429, and need not be

described here. It is now called 'the Corbie ab-script', and this name may be left unchallenged, although we might also call it 'the Adelhard type', since it was in the abbacy of Adelhard (under Charlemagne) that it fought a losing battle with Caroline minuscule. And just as the new Caroline minuscule and the old-fashioned ab-type were written during the same period in the Corbie scriptorium (e. g. in Bibl. Nat. lat. 11529-11530), so with other Corbie types. Though the en-type flourished at the earliest stage of all, we find it in an interlinear addition on fol. 117r of Amiens 6 (the Maurdramnus Bible); though the Maurdramnus type flourished in the years 772-780, it appears also in a Paris MS. which contains Alcuin and other writers, Bibl. Nat. lat. 13373, and can be dated between 817 and 835 (see pl. xxvi, 2 in 'Cab. MSS.'). We must therefore exercise due (not excessive) caution in using the Corbie-types as evidence for date. And it should be a task for palaeographers to trace the earliest approaches to this or that type as well as the latest developements. Many Corbie MSS. of the eighth century stand on the border-line between one type and another.

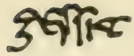
[Indeed we may add to these types a fourth type of eighth century Corbie minuscule, a fairly large minuscule (with close *a* and without 'i longa') which offers so few salient features that it is difficult to describe, but which is easily recognized after one has become familiar with it. It is contemporaneous with the en-type in Paris 12239, ff. 53-74 col. i, for the en-type immediately follows it on col. ii of fol. 74. Other MSS. in this script are Paris 12240-12241 Cassiodore; 12598 Vitae Sanctorum; 13047 Juvencus, etc.; 13347 (ff. 56-end) Jerome. ED.].

Finally, a word of caution. How ready we should be to infer that the Maurdramnus type (or the type just mentioned) was the immediate precursor of Caroline minuscule at Corbie scriptorium, had we not proof positive that the curious ab-type (a reversion to the cursive stage, with some Anglosaxon features, especially the abbreviation-symbol of *-tur*) had intervened. Let the palaeographer amass details and avoid rash inference.

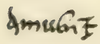
[How this brief but, it is hoped, fairly accurate reproduction of Liebaert's views on the progress of minuscule from the early part of the eighth to the early part of the ninth

century at Corbie can help historical research may be illustrated from that huge glossary which played so important a part all through the Middle Ages, the Liber Glossarum ('Glossary of Ansileubus'). Two MSS. (Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 11529-11530; Cambrai 633), two fragmentary MSS. (Paris, Bibl. Ste Genevieve B 1, 19; Carlsruhe, Aug. fr. 140) are in the ab-type and suggest that no less than four transcripts of this enormous work (unless one or both fragments belong to either MS.) were produced in the Corbie scriptorium in the opening years of the ninth century. Palaeography, thanks to Liebaert and Traube, can prove this. And, using this palaeographical fact, the historian can infer the great likelihood that the glossary was a Corbie work, one of the vast undertaking of Charlemagne's reign. How far it was based on previous Spanish work is another problem which palaeography can help to solve. ED.]

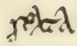
6.



12.



18.



30.



31.



40.



41.



50.



51.



60.



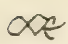
61.



70.



71.



80.



81.



Plate I.

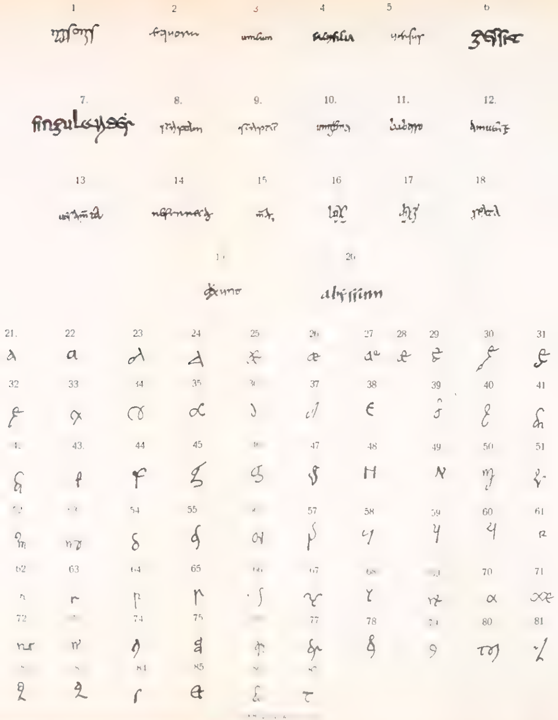


Plate II.

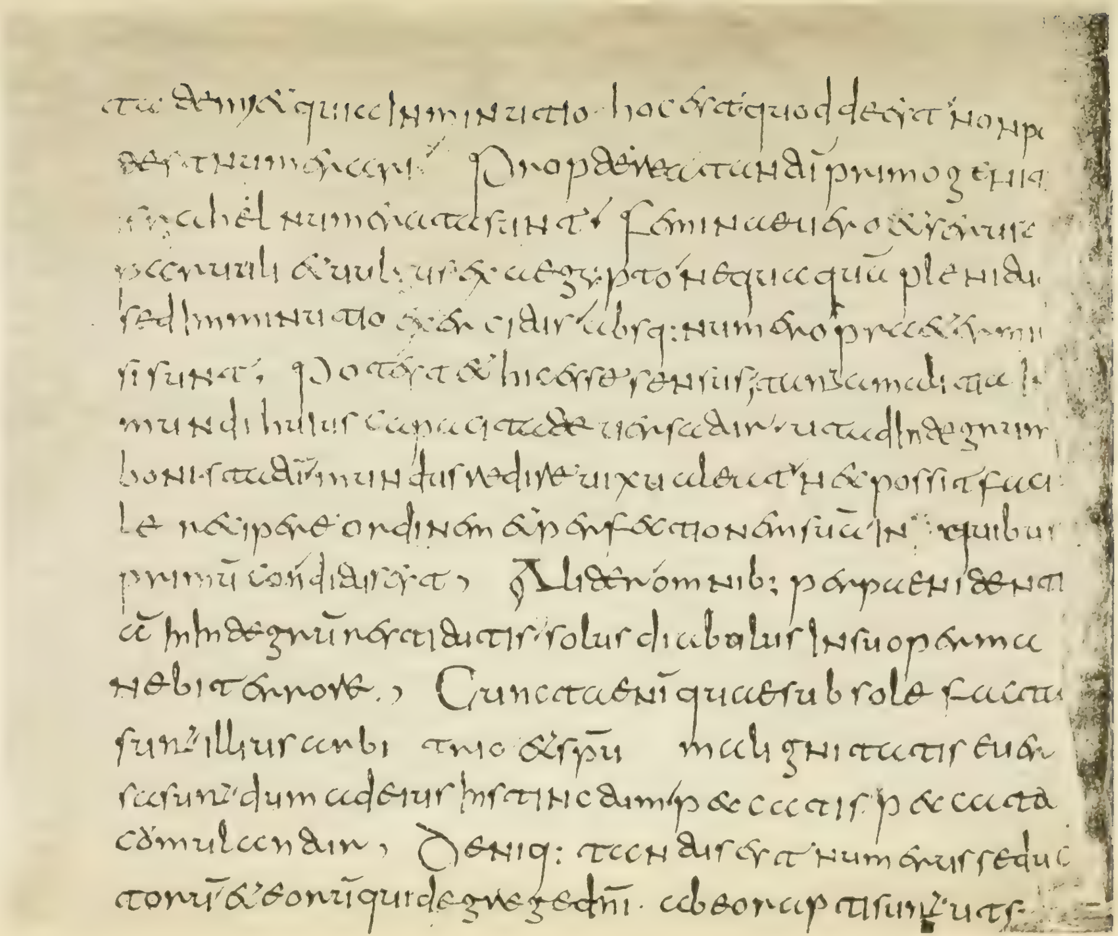
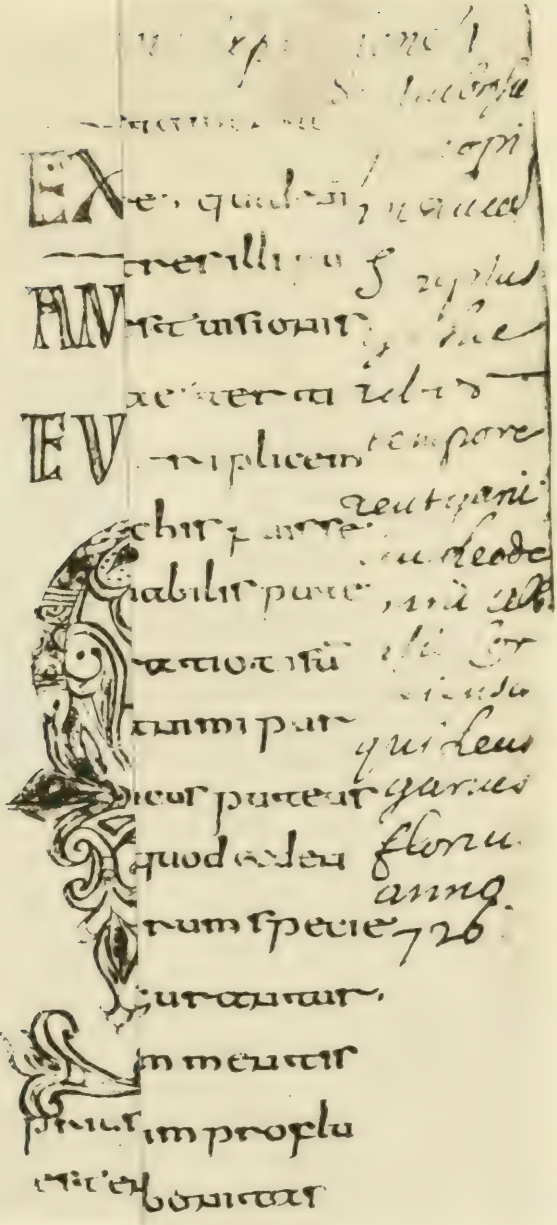
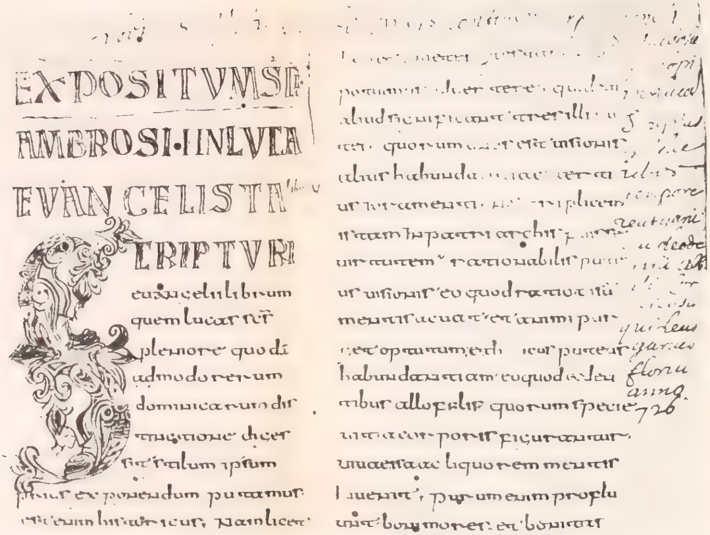


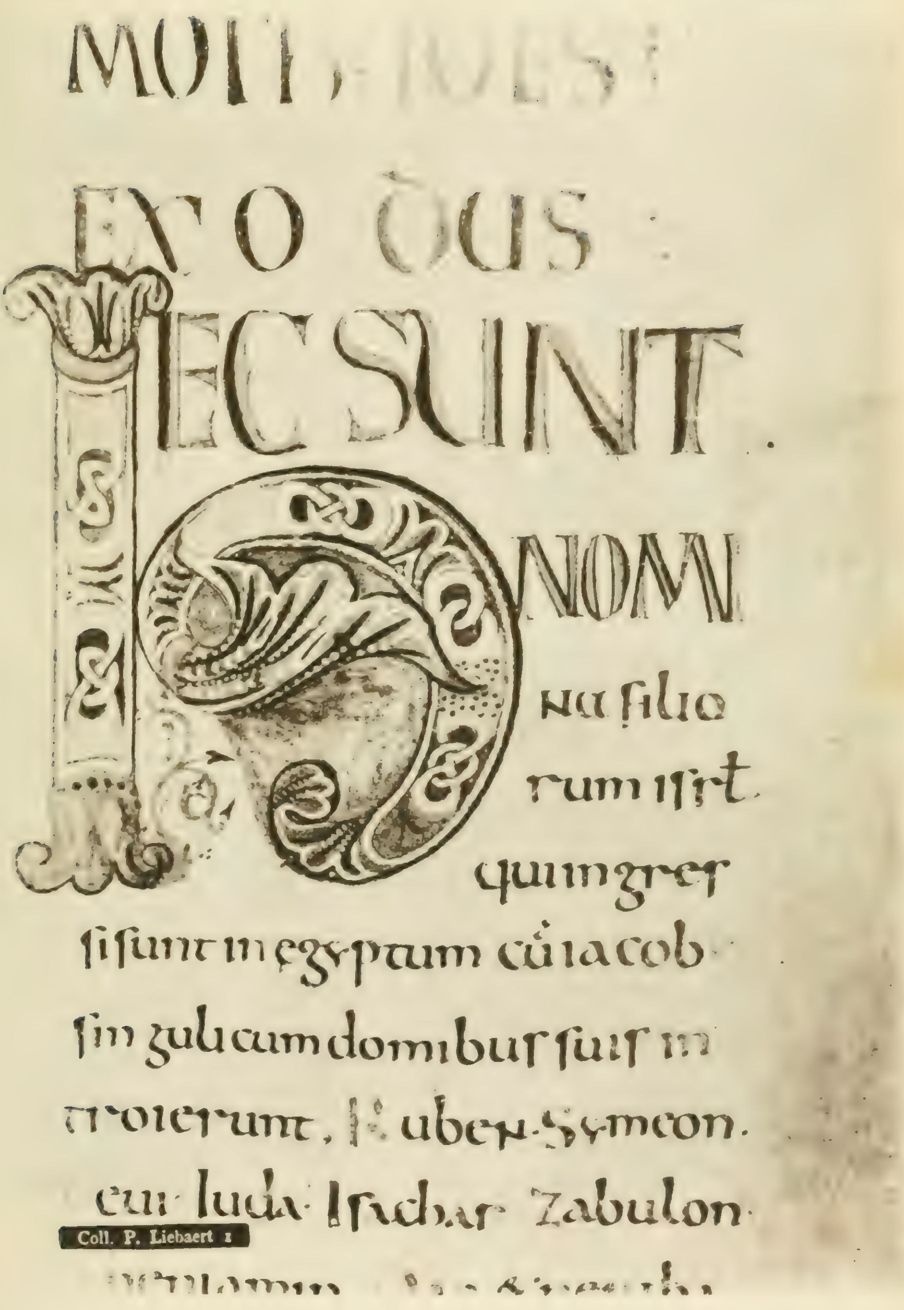
Plate III.




EXPOSITUM SCI
AMBROSI I IN LUCA
EVANGELISTA
SCRIPTURU
euangelii librum
quem lucas scs
plenior e quo di
admodo rerum
dominicarum dis
tinctione dicer
sit stilum ipsum
prius exponendum putamus
... Nam licet

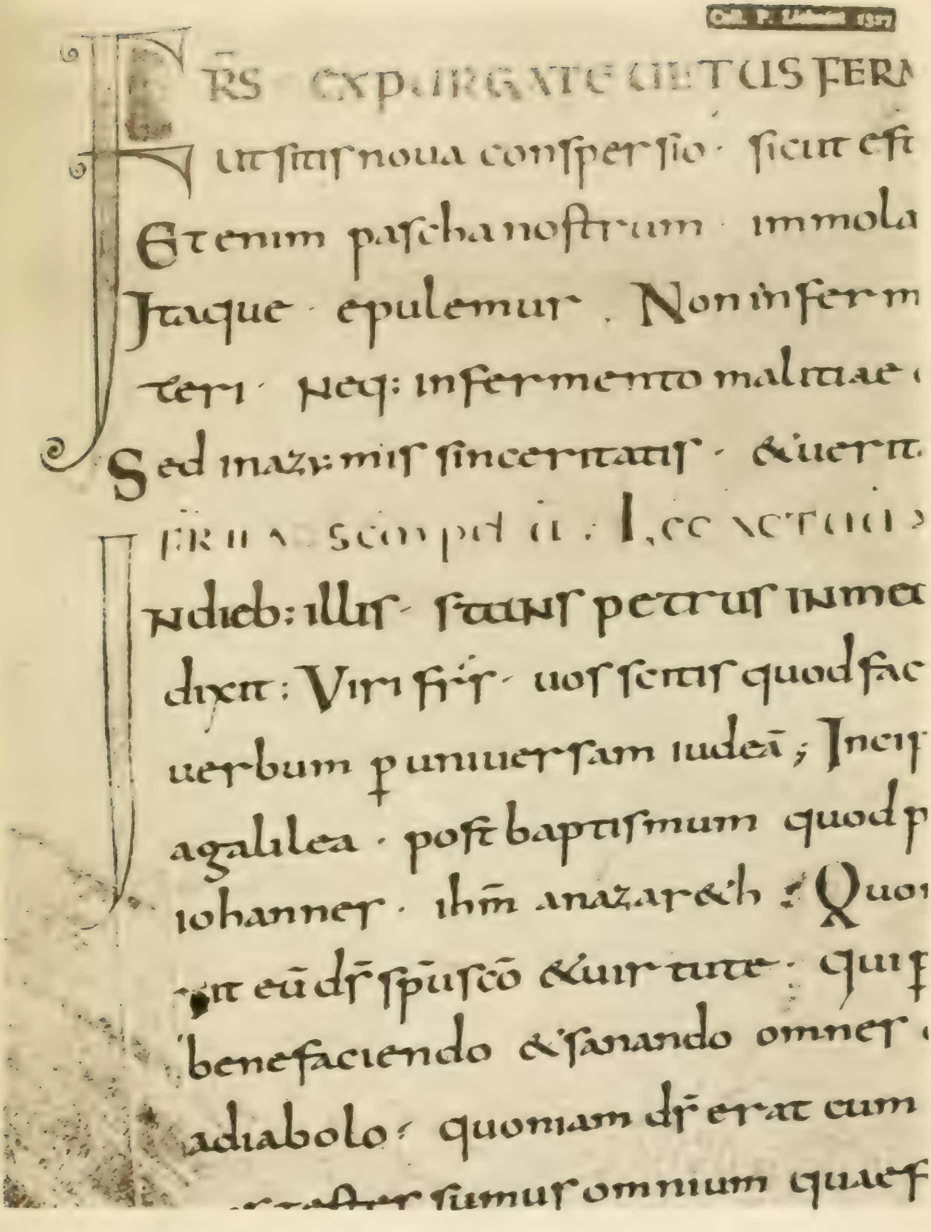
potuimus dicere ... quod ...
abund ...
ceter quorum ... visionis
utur habunda ...
ur ...
... archit ...
ur autem rationabilis ...
ur visionis eo quod ratio ...
menti sacuat et animi par
cet optimum ... sicut putent
habundantiam eo quod ...
ribus allophilis quorum specie
vitia corporis figurantur
vivacitatc liquorem mentis
fuerint, purum enim proflu
unt bonis moribus ex bonitate

Plate IV.


EXODUS
HEC SUNT NOMI
na filio
rum isrl
qui ingres
si sunt in egyptum cu iacob
singuli cum domibus suis in
troierunt. Ruben. Symeon.
Leui Iuda Isachar Zabulon

Coll. P. Liebaert 1

Plate V.



FRS EXPURGATE UETUS FERM
ut sitis noua conspersio · sicut est
Etenim pascha nostrum · immola
Itaque · epulemur . Non in ferm
teri · neq; in fermento malitiae
Sed in azymis sinceritatis · & uerit
FR II ... SCDM ... LEC ACTUU
In dieb; illis · stans petrus in medi
dixit ; Viri frs · uos scitis quod fac
uerbum per uniuersam iudeã ; Incip
a galilea · post baptismum quod p
iohannes · ihm a nazareth ; Quo
xit eũ ds spũ sco & uirtute ; qui p
benefaciendo & sanando omnes
a diabolo ; quoniam ds erat cum
testes sumus omnium quae f

ST. ANDREWS UNIVERSITY
PUBLICATIONS, XVI.

PALAEOGRAPHIA LATINA

PART II.

EDITED BY

Professor W. M. LINDSAY.

Published for St. Andrews University by
HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Copenhagen, New York,
Toronto, Melbourne, Cape Town, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras,
Shanghai
1923

PRINTED IN ITALY

CONTENTS OF PART II.

COLLECTANEA VARIA.

BY W. M. LINDSAY.

This journal was designed (cf. Classical Quarterly xi 41) to collect material for a future comprehensive History of Latin Palaeography (exoriare aliquis... scriptor), just as the Archiv f. lateinische Lexikographie paved the way for the great Latin Thesaurus. Under this heading I propose to publish some desultory notes of mine on Latin MSS. of the period with which this journal concerns itself (till c. 1050 A. D.), in the hope that my readers will send to me for publication supplementary notes of theirs regarding the same or similar features of MSS.

I. — Explicit and Finit.

It is known [1] that the rule 'Irish scribes use Finit, other scribes use Explicit' holds only for the MSS. in our period (hardly for the latter part). The dividing line of usage became blurred later. But even in our period there are exceptions. (On the form *explicit* see below, IV A):

A. Finit in non-Irish MSS.

Finit is known in Spain. For my notes shew its occurrence in the Toledo Bible (Madrid, Bibl. Nac., Tol. 2, 1; originally from Seville; "saec. viii ex."); the San Millan Bible (Madrid, Bibl. Acad. Hist. 20; "saec. ix"); another San Millan

(1) At least it ought to be. The other day I heard of a scholar who rashly proposed to apply this rule to the extant MSS. of Propertius!

theological MS. (ibid. 60; "saec. ix"). In Albi 29 Synonyma Ciceronis, etc. ("saec. ix"), written probably North of the Pyrenees (at Albi?), both Finit and Explicit are used. The Leyden Ausonius (from Ile Barbe library and probably written in that region) has Finit; the famous Codex Toletanus of Isid. Etym. has Explicit (but also Finit).

Finit appears sometimes in Italy: in the famous MS. of Lucca Cathedral (n.° 490; written probably at Lucca, c. 800 A. D.) which is being edited for the Vatican Series by Prof. Schiaparelli; in Vercelli 183, in the later addition, in minuscule of the Caroline type, on foll. 105^r-106^v Hymn to Eulalia ("saec. ix") *finit. Deo gratias* (but in the original MS., at the end of Augustini Retractationes, *expliciunt... libri duo*); in the Nonantola MS. (Rome, Bibl. Vitt. Eman., Sessor. 38) Augustinus, etc. (with dating 825-837).

Finit appears sometimes in other Continental script for which Insular influence has not been claimed, e. g.: Berlin, Staatsbibl., Ham. 31 Concilium Aquisgranense written at Albi; "saec. ix"); Paris, Bibl. Nat. 12097 Canons (from Corbie; uncial and half-uncial; "saec. vi"; ibid. nouv. acq, 1203 Godescalc Gospels; Berne 645 Victorius Aquitanus (in a script designated by Traube "between Gallic half-uncial and minuscule"); Munich 4577 (one of the Kisyla MSS.).

And often in the Continental script of Insular (even English) foundations on the Continent, e. g.: Bale F III 15^g Isidore (Fulda: "saec. viii ex."); Paris, Bibl. Nat. 9530 Jerome (Echternach; "saec. viii-ix"); ibid. 9561 Gregory (uncial; St Bertin); Munich 14252 Glossary (Ratisbon); and so on. Whereas Explicit appears in these MSS. written in Insular script of (certainly or probably) Continental scriptoriums: the Maesyck Gospels (explicit liber sancti evangelii secundum Iohannem. Finito libro deposco ut, etc.); the Trèves Gospels (but also Finit at the end of each lesson); the Milan Severianus (Bibl. Ambr. C 77 sup., foll. 133-end; half-uncial of Bobbio); Cassel theol. F 24 Primasius in Apocalypsin (from Fulda; Anglosaxon half-uncial); Paris, Bibl. Nat. 9382 Prophetae (written by Virgilius at Echternach); ibid. 9527 Jerome (Anglosaxon minuscule of Echternach); ibid. 9538 Augustine (Anglosaxon minuscule of Echternach); Petrograd F v I 3, foll. 39-168 Jerome (from Corbie; Anglosaxon half-uncial);

Boulogne 63-64 Augustine's Letters (from St Bertin; Anglosaxon minuscule of "saec. viii"); and so on.

In the Anglosaxon script of MSS. written in England I found Explicit: e. g. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 69 Homiliae in Evangelia ("saec. viii"); ibid. 173 (part ii) Sedulius (perhaps from Winchester, "saec. viii"); ibid. 183 Bede's Life of St Cuthbert, etc. ("saec. ix in."); Oxford, Bodl., Selden sup. 30 Acta Apostolorum (uncial; perhaps written in Thanet by two nuns before 752 A. D.); Durham A II 16 Gospels (uncial); London, Brit. Mus., Cotton Tib. A xiv Bede's History ("saec. viii"); ibid. Harl. 2965 Book of Nunnaminster (probably from Winchester; "saec. viii"); the Worcester Gospel fragment, and so on. But both Explicit and Finit in these: London, Brit. Mus., Cotton Tib. C ii Bede's History (perhaps from Durham; "saec. viii ex."); ibid. Cotton Vesp. A i Augustine's Psalter (from Canterbury; "saec. vii-viii"; uncial); ibid. Royal 1 B vii Gospels ("saec. viii"), with Finit after the Canons; ibid Royal 1 E vi Canterbury Gospels ("saec. viii ex."), with Finit after the Canons; the Codex Amiatinus, with Finit after the Canons.

In Welsh MSS. I have noted Explicit in the Cambridge Juvencus ("saec. ix"). But Finit in the Liber Commonei (on fol. 19ᵛ); the St Chad Gospels; the Hereford Gospels.

The Northumbrian MS., Rome, Vat. Pal. 68 (with Irish and Northumbrian glosses; "saec. viii ex.") has Finit. The Schaffhausen Adamnan, written at Iona in or before 713 by Dorbbene, has (in Greek letters) on p. 103 Finitur secundus liber.

B. Explicit in Irish MSS.

London, Brit. Mus. Add. 40618 Gospels (after St Mark: but, curiously, Finit after St John, on a leaf by a later Anglosaxon hand); Book of Kells (but also Finit). In the Book of Durrow and the Book of Armagh both Finit and Explicit.

C. Finit and Explicit in the same MS.

Beside the MSS. already cited, my notes offer; the Paris Avitus papyrus (Bibl. Nat. 8913-4; perhaps written at Lyons), which has Finit at the end of Homilies, Explicit at the end of Letters; Rome, Vat. Bibl., Pal. 829 Orosius (Anglosaxon

minuscule of Lorsch), *finit liber quintus ... explicit liber sextus*; the Maihingen Gospels (written by Laurentius of Echternach); Paris, Bibl. Nat. 16668 Bede, Aldhelm, etc. (written at Lorsch partly in Continental minuscule, partly in Anglosaxon), with Explicit in one part, Finit in the other; Carlsruhe, Reich. 253 Jerome (in a script designated by Traube "between Gallic half-uncial and minuscule"), *explicit commentarius. Deo gratias. Amen, finit;* Autun 4 Gospels (from Flavigny; uncial and Burgundian minuscule of "saec. viii"); Epinal 68 Jerome's Letters (from Murbach; 744 A. D.); Munich 14080 Isaiah and Jeremiah (from Ratisbon; Anglosaxon and Continental script of "saec. viii" fol. 109^r *explicit. Finem;* Colmar 38, part ii (Anglosaxon minuscule of Murbach), fol. 173^v *explicit argumentum*, and at the end *finit evangelium secundum Iohannem;* Hague, Mus. Meerm.-Westr. 9 Canons ("saec. viii ex."), fol. 17^r *finit*, fol. 26^v *explicit;* London, Brit. Mus., Egerton 2831 part i (Continental script) Jerome on Isaiah (Tours; "saec. viii").

These notes — so far as they go — seem to establish one or two conclusions. First, that home Irish MSS. usually shew Finit. Second, that most home English MSS. shew Explicit. Third, that many home Spanish MSS. shew Finit. Fourth, that (practically) all other Continental MSS. (free from Insular influence) shew Explicit.

Some exceptions are easily explained. It is natural that North English centres under Irish influence should shew Finit as well as Explicit. But it is strange to find this combination in South English MSS. (of Canterbury). And why should Continental English MSS. (seem to) admit Finit more readily than home English? Whether these difficulties can ever be explained remains to be seen. But, clearly, full details are wanted. And I hope that librarians will supply me with them.

The following reports have already reached me:

On Dublin MSS., by the Rev. Dr. Lawlor:

Psalter of Ricemarch (Finit, once. Never Explicit); Garland of Howth (no example); Stowe St John (at end, Finit); Stowe Missal (fol. 65 Finit ordo commonis; fol. 67 finit amen Deo gratia); Cathach (no example); Book of Dimma (Finit); Usserianus I (Explicit); Book of Mulling (Finit); Book of Kells (Explicit, after Gospels and Canons; Finit, after Breves Causae

and Argumentum); Book of Durrow (Explicit after Canons; and Gospels, except St John where is amen f with abbreviation-stroke; Finit after Breves Causae and Argumentum; Explicit after Capitula Marci); Book of Armagh (Explicit, after Canons; Finit, after Breves Causae, List of Hebrew Names, Gospels, etc., but Explicit after Rom., Cor., Galat., Ephes., 1 Tim., 2 Tim., Tit., Philem.; fol. 201ᵛ Explicit liber primus Sulpicii de vita sancti Martini, fol. 214ᵛ Explicit secundus liber, fol. 220ᵛ Finit amen, fol. 221 Finit amen, fol. 222ᵛ Explicit aepistula eiusdem Severi ad Auxilium).

On Insular MSS. in the Bodleian, by the Sublibrarian:

Macregol Gospels (Finit, but Explicit after Luke); Rawl. G 167 (concluding leaves of both Gospels are missing); Douce Primasius (Explicit throughout; but fol. 3ᵛ Expliciunt capitula libri primi, with suprascript gloss Finiunt over the first word); Liber Commonei (fol. 19ᵛ Finit amen, Finit opus in domino, etc.; the concluding leaf of the Ovid has Finit in a 10th century English hand); Selden Acts, written probably at Canterbury (Explicit); Digby 63, from Winchester (fol. 71 Finit, fol. 87ᵛ Finit); St Augustine Gospels, from Canterbury scriptorium (Explicit, after Matt., Mark, Luke, but leaf lost at end of John); Hatton 48, from Canterbury (last leaves lost); no example in Bodl. 426, Bodl. 819, Hatton 93.

On Anglosaxon MSS. of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by the Librarian: 69 (all the homilies are ended by Explicit, except the last which is imperfect); 173 (Explicit, in both the larger and smaller hand); 183 (Explicit, in the hands of both scribes); 12 (Nothing); 23 (Explicit after two poems; Finit after one); 41 (Nothing); 44 (Nothing); 57 (Explicit throughout); 111 (Nothing); 140 (Finit after Matthew before the subscription; no Latin after the other Gospels); 146 (Nothing); 162 (Anglosaxon endings ✠ Amen); 178 (Anglosaxon endings. But the Reg. Bened. has Incipit Capitula. Explicit Prologus); 188 (Nothing); 190 (Expliciunt Capitula; Explicit Prima Epistola); 191 (Nothing); 196 (Nothing); 198 (Nothing); 201 (Neither Explicit nor Finit); 214 (Explicit ends each book); 265 (Nothing); 285 (Explicit); 302 (Nothing); 303 (Explicit Prologus, p. 172); 307 (Explicit Prologus, fol. 3 b; Finiunt Capitula, fol. 6 a); 321 (Nothing): 322 (The Explicits are much later); 326 (Nothing); 367 (Nothing); 383 (Nothing); 389 (Explicit);

419 (Nothing); 421 (Nothing); 422 (Nothing); 449 (Finiunt, p. 85).

II. — Correction of MSS.

A whole volume might be written on this topic. I will select one or two things which seem worthy of mention and avoid, as far as possible, repetition of Wattenbach's examples in 'Scriftwesen' IV i.

A. Collation with the Exemplar.

The technical word is *conferre*; and the signature *contuli* or *contulimus*, usually in cursive or cryptic script, is well known. But I am doubtful how far we are entitled to contrast *conferre* on the one hand with *contra legere, relegere, legere, recognoscere*, etc., on the other, and claim the use of the exemplar for *conferre* only. Even to insist that *emendare, corrigere* imply independence from the exemplar seems rash, e. g. in the Basilican Hilary, where at the end of book I, etc., we find *contuli*, but at the end of book X *emendavi*. And certainly (1) *contra legere* seems necessarily to mean 'to read the transcript face to face with the exemplar'; but the rest I would be slow to limit to this or that denotation by any hard and fast rule (cf. Adamnan's subscription, cited by Wattenbach, *conferant et emendent... ad exemplar*; also Jerome's admonition, ibid., *ut conferrent diligentius et emendarent. ego enim... relegere non potui*). Paulus (Diaconus?) certainly uses *relegere* in the sense of 'collate' in his letter to Adelhard (accompanying a Selection of Gregory's Letters): tua itaque fraternitas si se facultas dederit, reliquas epistolas ad emendatiorem relegere studeat codicem. I take it that *legi legi legi* means 'I have revised this MS. thrice', a contrast to the entry in Paris 9533 *emendabi semel. Deo gratias*.

(1) In the new Oxford edition of Livy (vol. II, p. xxiii) this phrase (in Sidonius Apollinaris Letters v 15) is actually used to recall the bogey of 'Dictation of MSS.'! A sad indication how ignorant an editor of a Latin text can be of Latin MSS.

B. Record of Variants.

In my small Introduction to Latin Textual Emendation (London, Macmillan, 1896; French translation by Waltzing in the Klincksieck Collection, XXIV) I mention (V i) some actual attestations in a Würzburg MS. that another MS. than the exemplar was consulted. Others are: Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Laud. misc. 139 Augustinus in Iohannem (Würzburg: "saec. ix"), fol. 50ᵛ (marg.) *sicut alius codex habet*; ibid., Laud. 135 Augustinus (Würzburg; 842-855), foll. 114ᵛ and 176ʳ *velut in alio codice*, foll. 57ᵛ and 58ᵛ *in alio codice ita*. But no one who knows the tricks and manners of correctors (and scribes) can have any doubt that the formulas or symbols) *alibi* and *alias* and *aliter* are often (or generally) used to cloak mere scribal errors. Luckily we have clear proof of this untruthful or at any rate misleading use. In London, Brit. Mus., Add. 11852 (written at St Gall in Hartmut's time), on a blank page (fol. 168ᵛ) another hand reproduces the whole of fol. 169ᵛ, presumably as a writing-exercise, and miswrites *rectam* of 169ᵛ as *certam*, adding a marginal note *alibi rectam*. When *alibi* was reduced to three letters *alb* (with abbreviation-stroke) there was danger of confusion with *albus*. (Editors please note).

C. Correction-symbols.

The ideal corrector would collate transcript with exemplar, word for word. The usual corrector would glance through the transcript, marking anything which puzzled him, and afterwards consult the exemplar in these passages only. What marks did he use?

a) Z (i. e. ζήτει or ζητητέον). Paulus (Diaconus?) used this symbol in the Selection of Gregory's Letters (54 in all) which he made for Adelhard of Corbie. We seem to have his autograph in the corrections in Petrograd F v. I 7. His preface is (fol. 1ʳ): quia mihi eas ante relegere praeoccupatione totas non licuit, triginta quattuor ex eis scito relectas et prout potui emendatas esse, praeter pauca loca... quibus in locis et forinsecus ad aurem (*leg.* oram!) zetam, quod est vitii signum, apposui. An example will be seen in the plate (in Hartmann's edition) of fol. 3ᵛ, where Gregory wrote *casto mag. ml* (with abbreviation-stroke) 'Casto magistro militum', but the scribe

of Paulus' exemplar *casto magni l* (with abbreviation-stroke). This Paulus alters to *casto magnifico.*

My notes suggest that this symbol is affected by Insular scribes. e. g.: Book of Armagh; Bale F III 15[d] Consentius (from Fulda); Rome, Bibl. Vat., Pal. 1547 Seneca (from Lorsch); Cassel, theol. F 22 Jerome (Anglosaxon minuscule of Fulda); Vienna 16 (Bobbio), e. g. fol. 9[r].

b) R (i. e. require or requirendum). The St Gall eleventh century corrector, Ekkehard IV, used this symbol in his correction of a ninth century Augustine (St Gall 174) init.: Liber optimus, nimis autem vitiose scriptus; hunc ego quidem corrigere per me, exemplar aliud non habens, si poteram temptavi; ergo ubi minus potui *r* literam apposui). An example occurs on p. 39 where the scribe's *ad te petis ut scriberem* is altered by Ekkehard to *ad te petis ut scribam.* An eleventh century transcript (St Gall 139) of this MS. shews in this passage *ad te petis ut scribam,* a useful indication how any abnormal diction or spelling might be wholly effaced in transcription.

The capital form R is the usual symbol, though RQ or *rq* (with abbreviation-stroke) is common too. An example of the two-lettered symbol in Brussels 9403 Gregory of Tours ('saec. VIII-IX') is instructive. On fol. 79[r] the scribe wrote *sigilatus*; the corrector (in the margin) *vel ligatus, rq*; a third hand (after consultation of the exemplar?) has written *l* above the second syllable of *sigilatus.* So the exemplar had *sigillatus,* while *ligatus* was the corrector's guecs.

The simple verb, *quaere, quaerendum*, is also common (abbreviated to *q* or *qr*, with abbreviation-stroke), but the predominance of the compound is perhaps indicated by the use of *requirere* 'to correct a MS'. Thus in Rome, Vat. Bibl., 474 Augustini Sermones (written at Ferrières in the time of Lupus) there is a marginal entry on fol. 95[r]: huc usque ab abbate et praeceptore Lupo requisitum et distinctum est. (Yet on fol. 78[v] the scribe wrote *ibi nos periclitantur* and set *q* [not *rq*] in the margin; Lupus corrects to *ubi nos periclitamur*).

Editors should know the errors produced by these symbols. The Q-symbol suggested *quae* (if the stroke was above), *qui* (if the stroke cut the shaft), etc.; the R-symbol *respondit*, *res*, or the syllables *-runt*, *-rum.* The Corbie (?) compilers of the Liber Glossarum used *R* (with a cross-stroke through the leg)

throughout. Here are some miswritings: Abolitarum (for Abolita R); Virgilius respondit (for Virgilius R); Rex (for Require exemplum?).

c) The Cryphia (cf. Isid. Etym. I xxi 10 cryphia, circuli pars inferior cum puncto, ponitur in his locis ubi quaestio dura et obscura aperiri vel solvi non potuit). A Tours (?) corrector of the Liber Glossarum used this mark (as the Corbie compilers had used the R-symbol) and it has been preserved in two MSS. derived from this (lost) corrected MS., viz. the ninth century Tours MS. and the eleventh century Vendome MS. For example, at IN 1721 where the compiler had written Intempestivus, which had been corrupted to Interprestius, these two MSS. offer Interrestrius; but the presence of the Cryphia shews that this was a wild guess of the Tours corrector.

The symbol has usually (e. g. in the MSS. just mentioned) the form of *c* with dot inside, and this change of form may be due to the fact that *c* with dot inside was the symbol of *cor* (suggestive of 'corrige'). Sometimes the *c* is reversed (like the 'antisigma cum puncto' of Isid. Etym. I xxi 12), but that *corrige* was meant may, I think, be inferred from the appearance occasionally of this word written in full; just as *require* is occasionally written in full (e. g. Paris, Bibl. Nat. 1732 Ambrose, fol. 31r, fol. 31v; Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Hatton 98 Sidonius, fol. 118r, fol. 118v), or *quaere* (e. g. ibid., Laud. misc. 134 Augustine, fol. 31v *quere in aliis codicibus*). Chatelain (Not. Tiron. p. 113) cites a shorthand note in Verona 59, *hic requirendum* (cf. Servius ad Aen. 6, 177: Probus tamen et Donatus de hoc loco requirendum adhuc esse dixerunt).

It is quite possible that investigation may find in these correction-symbols a clue to the provenance of a MS. (or archetype). My notes shew that the R-symbol appears in these Corbie MSS. of Adelhard's time: Paris, Bibl. Nat. 11681 Beda in Lucam; ibid. 13354 + Petrograd Q v. I 19 (for 'Adalhardus monachus jussit fieri' seems to refer to Adelhard's degradation). Also in an earlier MS. from Corbie, ibid. 12205 Augustini Opuscula. But also in Murbach MSS.: Epinal 68 Jerome's Letters (written in 744); Geneva 21 Beda in Acta Apostolorum ("saec. viii-ix"). The Milan Josephus papyrus has sometimes *R*, sometimes *r*. From a Lorsch MS. in the Vatican Library (Pal. 966) I noted the r-symbol. And so on. The Cryphia

in correct form) I happened to note only in the Florence Orosius, fol. 35 (marg.) *non est sensus in hoc loco*; Verona 68 Rhabanus Maurus ("saec. ix"), where it marks omissions.

D. Correctors' influence on Texts.

A transcript which was not revised (*relectus*) with the exemplar was a slovenly thing. Complete absence of corrections is a bad sign. Such a MS. would rightly find scant favour in scriptoriums and be debarred from the role of exemplar. When the transcriber is an ignoramus the text is often unintelligible: e. g. the text of Gregory's Moralia (Munich Staatsbibl. 6297) written by the Englishman (?) Peregrinus at Freising about the year 780. But a modern editor prizes what a medieval teacher shunned, a text in which the spelling had not been altered to Carolingian requirements. The codex optimus of Nonius Marcellus is a ninth century Tours transcript (Leyden, Voss. F 73), in which, although a subsequent corrector has altered in the usual Carolingian style *adfero*, to *affero*, *conloco* to *colloco*, etc., the transcriber's spelling can easily be distinguished from these corrections. A Carolingian corrector who revised the spelling (*orthographiam praestare*) would never pedantically foist an archaic form on a text (like the Renaissance copyists' *queis* where the exemplar had *quis* Dat. Abl. Plur.) The apparent instances in Chatelain's plate of the Tours Livy (Rome, Vat. Bibl., Reg. 762) I have shewn to be illusory (Class. Rev. x 233). And in medieval times there was the same perverted taste as now for conjectural emendation. A 'codex ab abbate emendatus' would be the chosen exemplar in a scriptorium. That is why a modern editor of (let us say) Juvenal finds the family of inferior MSS. so much larger than the better family.

Corrections by such an abbot as Lupus of Ferrières are of a different type; and I have published in Class. Phil. iv 113 a photograph of a page which shews his handwriting in order that editors of texts may recognize his intervention. Lupus, knowing the weakness of mere conjectural emendation, bestirred himself to find and borrow ancient MSS. (See Traube's Kleine Schriften, pp. 3 sqq., for Lupus' work on the text of Valerius Maximus). The Florence MS. of (part of) Nonius Marcellus is transcribed from the Leyden MS., but was subsequently

corrected with the help of an excellent text, now lost. (Its transcript, the Harleianus, preserves most of these good corrections but, of course, gives no indication that they come from an alien source). A modern editor must be capable of distinguishing from mere Carolingian conjectural emendation these corrections (in a corrected MS.) or readings (in a transcript of a corrected exemplar) which come from such a source. For example, the corrector of the Florence MS. substitutes rightly *multinummus* for *multum nummus*, *miserinum* (cf. Ital. poverino) for *miserrimum* in lines of Varro and Lucilius. Such substitutions could never be mere conjectural emendations by a Carolingian corrector.

Traube's Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti (Munich 1898 = Abhandl. bayer. Akad. III Cl. XXI Bd.) provides the star to which every twentieth century editor of a Latin text must hitch his waggon. The punctilious. detailed. neat or rather ornamental record of variants in St Gall 914, the copy of the MS. prepared at Charlemagne's orders. shewed that this MS. had a history; but it was Traube who waved his magic wand over it and made it tell its whole tale. What history, I wonder, is attached to the Milan Orosius (Ambr. Bibl., D 23 sup.; half-uncial)? Zangemeister finds none. It too shews a wonderfully careful record of variants, sometimes inserting them (between symbols like the Insular abbreviation of *est*) in the text, a practice which must have puzzled transcribers: e. g. fol. 23^{v} *ut quisque* ut quis *non*. The record of so insignificant a variant as (fol. 6^{r}) *aethiopia* and *aethyopia* suggests that it was no common MS. which the corrector brought to his help.

III. — Aids to Readers.

The huge letters, the narrow column (with only some 10 letters to the line), the absence of all division of word from word in such MSS. as the Vatican Cicero de Republica make the reading very difficult and slow. One wonders whether these 'unciales litterae' were not rather meant for show than for use, like (let us say) a Kelmscott Press edition. Even these ordinary uncial MSS. (of the fifth or sixth centuries), from which we may suppose most of our extant Carolingian MSS. of ancient authors to have been transcribed, we cannot now read

with ease and speed. How they taxed the intelligence of Carolingian transcribers is shewn in detail by Shipley in his useful study of the Tours transcript of the Codex Puteanus of Livy (Certain Sources of Corruption in Latin Manuscripts, New York, 1904, pp. 15 sqq.). And though Traube pointed out (in vol. II p. 133 of his Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters) that the most fertile ground for corruption of text was the transcription of MSS. in Insular or other unfamiliar minuscule, with their puzzling forms of abbreviations and ligatures, there are still editors whose sole panacea seems to be: Rewrite the passage in majuscule script, with no division between the words, and see what it looks like. Wattenbach (in chap. IV section i of his 'Schriftwesen im Mittelalter' and on p. 86 of his 'Anleitung', 1886) has indicated the chief stages in the long process of making MSS. easy to read a process completed by Charlemagne and his successors. I will add a few details.

A. Separation of Words by Dots.

Words are often separated by dots in these MSS.: the Bobbio Missal (Paris, Bibl. Nat. 13246), e. g. fol. 15ʳ sit. aelutio. scelerum. sit; Laon 423 Isidore (Laon az-script of saec. viii); the Paris Oribasius (Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq. 1619; from Fleury; in a script designated by Traube " between Gallic half-uncial and minuscule "); Cambrai 836 Isidore (uncial); the Leyden Gregory of Tours (Univ. Bibl., Voss. Q 63; Merovingian); the Leyden Symphosius (ibid. Voss. Q 106; " saec. ix "), e. g. Mechus, eram. regis. sedlignea., etc.; Carlsruhe, Reich. 222 Apocalypse (" saec. viii-ix "); Verona 62 Cresconii Canones (in Verona cursive); St Gall 213 Gregory (" saec. viii "), e. g. p. 172 Ibi. cadere (end of line) superbiam. ubi. nasci., etc; Einsiedeln 18 Commentary on Psalms (" saec. viii-ix ").

In some MSS. it is only (or mainly) small words that are so treated, e. g.: the Maurdramnus Bible (Amiens 12), fol. 70ʳ Adiurovos. o. filiae hierusalem; Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Laud. lat. 92 (Anglosaxon minuscule of Würzburg, 832-842), fol. 11ᵛ Et. ut. magis. The last MS. (like some others) so treats unusual or foreign words (see below), e. g. ruben. gad.; and this practice recalls the treatment of abbreviation-symbols (see my Notae Latinae I p. 73), e. g. *oblita. e.* (with abbreviation-stroke above) ' oblita est ', clearly distinct from *oblitae*. Simil-

arly with Numerals. The symbol v 'five' is distinguished from the letter *v*, the symbol x 'ten' from the letter *x*, etc., by having a dot before and after (and often by having an apex above, just as we set a dot above).

B. The Apex.

The use of the apex (in the form of the French acute accent) to indicate long vowels on inscriptions of the Empire survived in our manuscript-period to a very limited extent. It was retained mostly to preserve some monosyllables from being annexed by their longer neighbours. The monosyllable most frequently so preserved is perhaps the Interjection *o*. Also the Pronouns *me, tu, te, se*, etc. Also the Preposition *a*; for the combination of Preposition with Noun, *aductu*, was almost as normal as its composition with a Verb, *aduo*. And so on.

But in Late Latin vowel-quality had supplanted vowel-quantity. So the practice was extended to monosyllables whose vowel was short, a departure from the ancient use of the apex, e. g. *an, ac, at, es*.

Unluckily the original form of the apex was not strictly conserved. Some of its phases were harmless; but when it was written horizontally, instead of obliquely, it became indistinguishable from the abbreviation-stroke: *a* (with apex) the Interjection and *a* (with abbreviation-stroke) 'aut': *e* (with apex) the Preposition and *e* (with abbreviation-stroke) 'est': *os* (with apex) 'mouth' and *os* (with abbreviation-stroke) 'omnes': *an* (with apex) the Conjunction and *an* (with abbreviation-stroke) 'ante': *sic* (with apex) the Conjunction and *sic* (with abbreviation-stroke) 'sicut'. Indeed the abbreviation-stroke itself sometimes took an oblique direction.

The sensible practice of ancient times is well stated by Isidore (Etym. I xxvii 29): in dubiis quoque verbis consuetudo veterum erat ut, cum eadem littera alium intellectum correpta, alium producta haberet, longae syllabae apicem adponebant: utputa 'populus' arborem significaret an hominum multitudinem apice distinguebatur. In the Codex Mediceus of Virgil *misere* 'they sent' is thus distinguished from *misere* 'wretchedly', *levis* 'smooth' from *levis* 'light'; although the apex is put to sone less traditional uses now and then, and in the great ma-

jority of its occurrences stands over long monosyllables, e. g. *a, hac, sus* (cf. Isid. Etym. I xviii 6). My notes on various MSS. suggest that it was Insular scribes who utilized this indication of -is Dat. Abl. Plur., e. g.: the Lichfield Gospels; the Cambridge Juvencus; the Book of Mulling (also -os Acc. Pl., -as of *ignoras*, etc.); Laon 26, *extis*; Paris, Bibl. Nat. 9527 (Anglosaxon of Echternach), *servis*; Hereford Gospels, *vobis, nostris*; the Carlsruhe Augustine, *nobis* (also -us of *virtus*; similarly the Carlsruhe Bede, -us Acc. Plur.); the Gatien Gospels. Certainly this mark over -is had the disadvantage that, when apex and abbreviation stroke coincided in form, *servis* was confusible with *servi sunt*, as in Cassel th. F 22 Jerome (Anglosaxon minuscule of Fulda). A ninth century Breton MS. (Paris, Bibl. Nat. 12021) shews degeneration, e. g. fol. 73[v] quanto magís á vivís, which ought to mean 'as much from living magicians' but which was intended for 'as much more from the living'.

C. Foreign Words.

In the beautiful uncial of the Bologna Lactantius a Greek word is hardly distinguishable from a Latin, unless it contains a characteristic letter like Xi or Phi or Omega. Where Greek was unknown (i. e. in most scriptoriums) Greek words are, as a rule, omitted by scribes, a space being left for the corrector to supply them. Often the space was never filled; and that is why many extant MSS. of the Abavus Glossary have discarded the Greek words in those items which the compiler borrowed from a bilingual glossary. (Luckily the archetype of a cognate glossary, Abavus Major, had preserved them). The corrector, if he filled the blank, would replace the Greek letters by Latin; and in any MS. where a Greek word shows itself we may expect to find at least one attempt (often more) by some monastery-teacher to write above it (or in the adjacent margin) a Latin transliteration). Often a Greek word survives in a hybrid form, some of the letters being or trying to be) Greek while the rest are Latin. We can sympathize with the Fulda corrector of a MS. of Consentius (Bale F III 15[d]), who suggests (in the margin) *salpo* for *Calpe* (of the text, fol. 11[r]). He did not know whether the first letter was meant for Greek Sigma or Latin *c*.

Iust as we distinguish foreign words by italics or by inverted commas, so medieval scribes drew a horizontal stroke above. At any rate this is the normal practice with Greek and Hebrew words. But not with Celtic words. These usually have an apex (or, as in the Schaffhausen Adamnan, a short horizontal stroke) over each syllable or each vowel), e. g.: the Cambridge Juvencus; the Corpus Martianus Capella; the Book of Armagh; a Northumbrian Psalter in the Vatican Library (Pal. 68). In the last (and in other MSS.) Teutonic words are similarly treated.

D. Quotation-signs.

We use inverted commas (double, as well as single) also to warn the reader when a quotation comes. The ancient sign was the Diple (like a horizontal V, with opening to the left). Isidore says of it (Etym. I xxi 13): hanc scriptores nostri adponunt in libris ecclesiasticorum virorum ad separanda vel demonstranda testimonia sanctarum Scripturarum. Of course, in ecclesiastical writings the quotations would normally come from the Scriptures. But I find no reason to believe that in the practice of scribes (in Spain or elsewhere) it was only Scriptural quotations which were so treated. For example, in the Codex Toletanus of Isidore's Etymologies (Madrid, Bibl. Nac., Tol. 15, 8; "saec. viii ex.") the quotation-sign stands on fol. 3ʳ opposite a quotation from Persius and opposite a quotation from the Bible.

Dulcitius, the corrector (568-590) of the Vienna Hilary, uses the Diple in its proper shape. Most subsequent scribes write what might be called a cursive form of this horizontal V, a form resembling our letter *s* (see Thompson 'Introd.', facs. 178), and this s-mark is often doubled (ibid., facs. 87). Curiously enough, a mere ninth century MS., Colmar 82 Cassiani Collationes (Murbach: "saec. ix in.") shews along with it a mark which must have been the half-way stage, a horizontal V beginning with a small curve and with the angle rounded. It shews also a rare quotation-sign, like our Y (with a dot between the branches). This Y-mark (sometimes without the dot) I have found (at least, noted) only in London, Brit. Mus., Add. 11878 Gregorii Moralia (Luxeuil type); ibid., Add. 31031 Gregorii Moralia (Laon az-script); Rome, Vat. Bibl., Pal. 177 Jerome

(Anglosaxon minuscule of Lorsch; "saec. ix in."); Cambrai 441 Philippus' Commentary on Job (half-uncial. Also the s-mark, with a dot to the left). A more common variety (but not nearly so common as the s-mark) resembles the Arabic numeral 7, and this 7-mark usually has two dots (sometimes more), one following the other, on the left of the top (see Thompson 'Introd.', facs. 131). It was an English variety, transmitted to the Continent. For my notes of it are from these MSS.: London, Brit. Mus., Royal 1 B vii (Anglosaxon half-uncial); Rome, Vat. Bibl., Pal. 68 (Northumbria); Cassel, th. F 22 (Anglosaxon of Fulda); ibid., th. F 21 (Anglosaxon of Fulda); Paris, Bibl. Nat. 9525 (Anglosaxon of Echternach); ibid. 9527 (Anglosaxon of Echternach); ibid. 12281 Bede (also the s-form); Petrograd Q v. I 18 Bede (Anglosaxon minuscule); Munich 14653 (Anglosaxon of Ratisbon), not quite the usual 7-form; Epinal 68 (Murbach; 744 A. D.); Rome, Vat. Bibl., Pal. 195 (Anglosaxon of Lorsch); Berlin th. F. 356 (Anglosaxon of Werden); Munich 4549 (a Kisyla MS.). The Moore Bede uses a mere horizontal stroke; and the same, with a dot above and below (like the Insular 'est'-symbol), appears in Petrograd F v. I 2 (from Corbie; uncial and half-uncial and the Douce Primasius; also in the Corbie ab-script of Paris, Bibl. Nat. 12135 and of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 193.

The quotation-sign stands in the margin and is repeated opposite each line of the quotation. (In the Echternach MS. in Anglosaxon half-uncial, Paris, Bibl. Nat. 9382, Virgilius' metrical subscription has the 7-mark opposite each line). But when the quotation begins in the middle of a line, the sign often stands at the quotation's beginning (i. e. in the text): Paris, Bibl. Nat. 653 Pelagius (written at Verona?) e. g. fol. 209v; Autun 24 Cassianus (half-uncial), e. g. fol. 124v.

IV. — Scribes and their Ways.

(A supplement to chap. V of Wattenbach's Schriftwesen).

A. Illiteracy of Scribes.

This is abundantly illustrated by their subscriptions, e. g. of Martin the priest in Avranches 229 ("saec. x"): Martinus presbiter... Fratres *qui legit ora pro illud;* of Joseph of St Gall

(St Gall 189 Eucherius): *iosepuss sricpsit.* How could Joseph be trusted to transmit faithfully to us the spelling of his exemplar? And by 'probationes pennae', e. g. in the Essen Gospels thrice on fol. 1v: omnia vincit amor et nos *cetmos* amori; in a Fulda MS. in Anglosaxon script (Cassel theol. F 22) on fol. 15v: *birillus topatsius cyrieleigson.* Yet South Italian scribes who carried out the rules of Beneventan script must have understood what they were copying (see Loew's Beneventan Script). *Excerptum* becomes in scribal Latin *excarpsum* or *scarpsum* or the like, e. g.: London, Brit. Mus., Add. 29972 (Luxeuil type) excarpsum (in title); Petrograd Q v. I 20 (Corbie; "saec. ix") incipiunt scarpsa testimonia sancti Hieronymi; St Gall 125 ("saec. viii-ix"), p. 158 incipit sententias excarapsas de humilias sancti Gregorii papae. *Explicit*, a suspension of *explicitus*, is often said to have produced the perfect *explicuit*, e. g. Turin, Arch. I b vi 28 Lactantius (Bobbio; uncial and half-uncial) fol. 81v Quintus Iulius Hilarianus explicuit; though the Leyden Priscian shews (fol. 163r, fol. 189r) *explicitus*; and *explicuit* in a neuter or passive sense is defensible (cf. Jerome ap. Anecd. Helv. 179, 19). Less defensible is *expliciunt* (on the model of *incipiunt*). Perhaps the bad Latin in scribes' subscriptions should really be taken for a relapse (from the literary Latin of the text he transcribed) into the vulgar Latin (halfway to Romance) which was current in talk.

B. Fidelity of Transcription.

How far can we rely on a transcript as a faithful reproduction of the exemplar? When, by an error, a page or a passage has been copied twice (by two scribes), we always find divergence in spelling and abbreviation, if not also in accuracy, in the two transcriptions. Here is an example: Lyons 471 (401) Bede on Ezra ("saec. ix in."; fol. 75v copied again by the scribe of the next quaternion on 76r) *completo* and *conpleto*, *iherosolimam* and *hierosolimam*, *est* abbreviated and written in full, *aretem* and *ariactem*, *esse* written in full and abbreviated, *fidele* and *fideles*, *vel* written in full and abbreviated, *temptari* and *temtari*, *ostes* and *hostes* (The scribe of 75v gets almost two lines more into his page). Even when only one scribe is concerned, his second transcription is likely to differ in some point or other from his first. For example: in a mere

passage of eight lines in a Bodleian MS. of the year 818 Bodl. 849 Bede), *tempus* abbreviated and written in full; in a single sentence of a Lorsch MS. (Rome, Vat. Bibl., Pal. 1547; "saec. viii-ix") the *am* of *quicquam* is abbreviated and written out, the *er* of *here* is written separately and in ligature.

C. Rate of Transcription (to supplement Wattenbach Schriftwesen[3], p. 289).

When in our period (i. e. before the time of paid scribes) a scribe mentions in a subscription the time he has taken over his task, we may usually infer that he was proud of a feat of rapid writing. Or rather, rapid and neat writing. Bishop Baturicus of Ratisbon (814-847) records in a subscription (cited by Wattenbach) in Munich, Staatsbibl. 14437 Augustinus in Epist. i S. Iohannis: Librum hunc pro remedio animae meae ego in Dei nomine Baturicus episcopus ad Franchonofurt scribere praecepi; scriptus est autem diebus septem et in octavo correctus in loco eodem, anno septimo regiminis episcopatus mei et octingentesimo vicesimo tertio Dominicae incarnationis; scriptus autem per Ellenhardum et Dignum, Hildoino orthografiam praestante: orate pro nobis. This codex, in neat and careful script (see the plate in Pal. Soc. I pl. 23), contains 109 leaves of 10 × 8 inches, with 20 lines to the page, and (Prof. P. Lehmann tells me) no leaves have been lost. That means about thirty pages a day by the two writers or fifteen by one (about a quaternion a day).

To Prof. Lawlor's paper on the Cathach of St Columba (Royal Irish Academy Proceedings, XXXIII C 11 [1916) I have added an appendix, which discusses the famous subscription in the Book of Durrow. I declare it to be a very close copy of Columba's actual subscription in the (lost) exemplar, with the alteration of the single-letter abbreviation of *nostri* (which at the time of the transcription would suggest *non* and spoil the sense) to the three-letter symbol. In the last line Columba had been pressed for space, and he abbreviated (as well as the necessary abbreviation dni 'Domini') *gratia*, *nostri* and *subscripsi*, using for the last the symbol current in his time (but obsolete later) *s. s.* Columba wrote: Rogo beatitudinem tuam sancte praesbiter Patrici ut quicumque hunc libellum manu tenuerit meminerit Columbae scriptoris, qui hoc

scripsi mihimet evangelium per XII dierum spatium gratia Domini nostri. Subscripsi. In the Book of Durrow follows (at a respectful interval of seven lines) by the same writer (probably the Abbot of Durrow) an invocation of St Columba: ora pro me, frater mi: Dominus tecum sit. Columba's subscription, with record of his writing-feat and containing a phrase not found in subscriptions 'I wrote for my own use', tallies exactly with the well-known story of his surreptitious transcription of the Gospels brought by St Finnian from Rome (see Lawlor's full account). The quarrel between the two saints led to Columba's self banishment to Iona. We cannot doubt that the immediate exemplar of the Durrow Gospels was Columba's hurried transcript of Finnian's Gospels (the Vulgate text, unknown in Ireland before Finnian's visit to Rome). The script of the Cathach, i. e. the Psalter associated by tradition with Columba, may quite well be Columba's own handwriting, a rough, flowing half-uncial type which would lend itself to rapid writing (see Lawlor's plate). How many pages of this script would be needed for the Gospels cannot be determined with certainty. Between 20 and 30 would have to be written each day, I fancy, to transcribe all four Gospels in 12 days. On the other hand, the entry in the Book of Armagh is no evidence of rate of transcription. It merely records the curious coincidence that the scribe Ferdomnach had finished St Matthew's Gospel on St Matthew's Day (explicit... scriptum. Atque finitum in feria Mattei), without mention of when he began. How to interpret the entry at the end of the Probae Canto, a poem which occupies foll. 129^r-140^r (line 7) of a quarto MS. in the Corbie ab-script (Paris, Bibl. Nat. 7701) is doubtful: Idibus Octobribus (only last syllable certain) sic percraxatus (first syllable uncertain) fui horis (written *h* with transecting stroke) tribus (but if *horis tribus* was meant for 'at three o'clock', it should have been *hora tertia*).

And when a long time is mentioned, we cannot determine the rate of daily transcription (since we cannot be sure that each day was a working-day) nor may we infer rapid writing. The Conservateur en chef tells me that the Brussels Paschasius (Bibl. Roy. 8216-8) of the year 819 (mentioned by Wattenbach), written by one hand in 15 weeks, originally consisted of 304 leaves.

In Milan, Ambr. Bibl. 301 inf., we find on fol. 100ʳ the pious entry (in the top-margin): in nomine Iesu et sanctae Brigdae. The same entry reappears in the top-margin of fol. 108ᵛ. May we infer that foll. 100ʳ-108ʳ were the task of a day, i. e. slightly more than the amount of a quaternion?

D. Conversational Jottings.

This was a bad habit of Irish scribes. All scribes were forbidden to talk in the scriptorium, but the irrepressible Irishman scribbled his remark on the margin of the page he was transcribing and shewed it to his neighbour. I have given examples in my Early Irish Minuscule Script (p. 42), one of which, since it bears on the last section, may be cited here, the Irish sentence meaning 'this page has not been written very slowly'. It was written by Coirbbre in the St Gall Priscian. Clearly his teacher had been rebuking him for slow transcription, for he refers in another jotting to his teacher's displeasure. Other examples are given by Kuno Meyer in Zeitschr. Celt. Phil. VIII 175 from a ninth century MS. of Cassiodore on the Psalms (Laon 26) e. g.: 'It is cold to day. Naturally. Winter', 'The lamp gives a bad light', 'It is time for us to begin to do some work', 'Well, this vellum is hairy' 'Well, I call this vellum thin', 'I feel quite dull to-day. I do not know what is wrong with me'. These cited here are in Irish. And all are written in the top-margins of the pages as clearly and carefully as the text itself! The head of the scriptorium, if he understood Irish, must have been very indulgent. But I do not see any reason for believing this MS. and the other Laon MSS. in Irish script to have been written in Ireland. One of them (Laon 55) has on a fly-leaf a part of a Latin elegy on Cathasach 'prudensque magister Atque pius iuvenis castus custosque decorus', clearly (though the script looks earlier than the end of the ninth century) the Abbot of Armagh, the 'religiosus iuvenis' of the Annals of Ulster, who died in 896. Meyer shewed this in Berl. Akad. Sitzber. 1914. But Meyer went on to make one of these rash theories which hinder rather than help learning, in this age of minute but unintelligent bibliography when every theory — good, bad or indifferent — is recorded with the same respect. He inferred that the scribe, (a fair enough scribe, but nothing out of the common) was that

'scriba optimus' of Armagh, Mochta, who was a contemporary of this Cathasach. Why? Was Mochta the only scribe at Armagh? And were there not Irish scribes (any of whom may have come from Armagh) at Laon, where we know there was an Irish colony?

The only example of conversational jottings by a Continental scribe which I have noted is an entry by the scribe in the top-margin of fol. 32v of Trèves 122 'Ratpodo archiepiscopus'. It enables us to date the MS., for Radbodus was elected Archbishop of Trèves in 883. But the entry may not have been made for conversational purposes. Still less another dateable entry, by the Englishman (?) Peregrinus at Freising (in Munich, Staatsbibl. 6297 Gregorii Moralia). In the margin opposite a passage describing Job's undeserved calamities Peregrinus writes (fol. 67v) 'Arbeo episcopus: Miserere Deus', a clear reference to the persecution by Duke Tassilo of the Bishop of Freising, Aribo or Arbeo.

E. Marginal Prayers.

Irish too was the habit of beginning the day's task of transcription by a prayer recorded in the top-margin. The favourite Irish formula was *xb* (with abbreviation-stroke through the second letter), probably to be interpreted 'Christe, benedic'; although Stern (Zeitschr. celt. Phil. VI 546) mentions that both this symbol and the fuller phrases χρη βοηθησον, *adiuva nos Christe* appear in St Paul 25 D 26. (The entry in the uncial leaves at the end of the Utrecht Psalter. ἁγια Μαρια βοηθησον τῳ γραψαντι seems rather a subscriptio, written at the end of transcription). In the St Gall Priscian *xf* 'Christe fave' appears along with *xb*; on p. 171, etc. *fave Brig(itta)*; on p. 181 *fave P(atrici)e*; on p. 178 *P(atrici)e b(enedic)*. The loquacious Irish scribe (already mentioned) of Laon 26 writes (fol. 12v): benedic, Domine, hanc operationem ut plana fiat; also (in Irish; fol. 18v) 'God bless my hands to-day'. He also puts *xb* in the left top-margin of each folio verso. So does one of the scribes of a Winchester MS. of c. 850 (Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Digby 63).

For the pious practice spread to English scribes too. The Martyrology of Willibrord shews at the beginning (fol. 2r, top-margin) *Christe fave votis*; and at the foot of a Lorsch MS. in

Anglosaxon script (Paris, Bibl. Nat. 16668; fol. 51ʳ, the first page of a new quire) there seems to be *x b*.

The Boniface Gospels (Fulda, Bonif. 3) are written under Celtic influence. Their pious entry *o Emanuel* (i. e. 'God with us') appears at the head of the pages of St Luke, etc. The same entry is found in the Bobbio MS. (Milan, Ambr. Libr. C 301 inf.), e. g. fol. 46ʳ, fol 136ʳ.

In the Vatican Library (Pal. 237; "saec. ix") is a MS. of Prosper, part of which (foll. 46-58) is in Anglosaxon script, part in Continental. The Anglosaxon pages shew a cross in the left-hand top-corner, but not the other pages. The Chi-Rho monogram appears in the Lindisfarne Gospels in this part of the page, at the beginning of each Gospel.

In all countries however it was a common practice to write an invocation at the beginning of a MS.: 'In nomine Domini incipit', 'In Christi nomine incipit', Ην ονομαθη Κυρι incipiunt (Paris, Bibl. Nat. 13026; on fol. 121ʳ). Indeed the Irish scribe of Laon 26 has three such entries in his opening pages: (fol. 2ʳ) Dei in nomine incipio; (fol. 4ᵛ) In nomine Dei summi; (fol. 5ᵛ) In nomine Trinitatis; while on a page, written presumably on New Year's Day, he sets (in Irish) 'Guard me, my Lord, from the dangers of the year'.

F. Distribution of Transcription.

Everyone knows that the distribution among several scribes of the task of copying an exemplar led to blanks or spaced writing or crowded writing (with much use of abbreviation-symbols) at the end of a quire (where one scribe finished the allotted portion). There is no need to multiply examples, though this practice should be remembered in calculations of the pagination of an archetype. When a poetical exemplar was transcribed, these awkward results could be avoided by selecting for the transcript vellum of exactly the size of the exemplar (or double the size; which would enable two pages of the original to fill one of the copy). Indeed this laudable practice of making the transcript correspond, page for page, with the exemplar was not confined to poetical texts. The Douce Primasius shews, at the ends of pages, sometimes a small blank space, sometimes a word or two of 'overflow', features which prove that this practice was followed.

It is a MS. in Insular half-uncial; and one imagines thas its exemplar must have been a MS. of note.

When a MS. is parcelled out between a few scribes, I have usually found that the first part shews better writing and more accurate transcription than the other parts, and that there is often a great difference between the value of part and part as a witness to the 'ipsa verba' of the exemplar. An editor of a Latin text notices these things and frames his edition accordingly. But even if he is careful to state them in his Preface, those 'saecli incommoda', reckless emendators, take little heed of them. It will be one of the problems for twentieth-century editing to detect and determine the intervention of a stupid and careless scribe in an archetype.

The similarity of the work of expert scribes in the same scriptorium makes us grateful for their not uncommon habit of signing their names in the lower margin at the end (or beginning) of their portion. (Where these signatures are all by the same hand and at the beginning-page of a quire, we may refer them to the head of the scriptorium). The signatures in the ninth century transcript in the Vatican Library (Reg. 762) of the uncial Codex Puteanus of Livy enabled Traube to prove that the scribes were Tours scribes. (For the latest treatment ([1]) see Rand and Howe 'The Vatican Livy and the Script of Tours', in the Memoirs of American Academy in Rome, vol. I, 1917). The tradition that a Petrograd MS. (F v. I 11) of the Historia Tripertita was written by the monks of Noirmoutier in honour of their guest, the exiled Adelard of Corbie, is confirmed by the fact that the whole writing-staff of the scriptorium seems to have been employed on it. For almost each quire has (or rather had, before a modern binder's interference) the signature of a different scribe. In an Arras MS. too (n.° 675; "saec. xi") of Regino de Disciplina Ecclesiastica there seems to have been special reason for the employment of a large number of scribes. For the MS. has verses recording this:

Hoc non una manus offert, pastor, tibi munus, etc.

([1]) But the signature *gyslar*, with suspension-stroke through the arm of *r*, is intended for Gyslarius (not Gyslarus; nor yet Gyslarum nor, as an editor 'alienus a palaeographia' made it, Gyslarx!).

The names stand at the top of the quires: ‘ Albertus scripsit ’, ‘ Albertus finem fecit ’, ‘ Richuinus scripsit ’, ‘ Richuinus hic desinit ’,... ‘ Albertus reincepit ’, ‘ Albertus hic dimisit ’, etc. But there is nothing to shew that the Cologne nuns who wrote, in Hildebald's time, Cologne 63 and 67 had any special reason for signing so prominently (in the lower margin), e. g.: (63) fol. 86ᵛ ‘ Girbalda scripsit ’, fol. 263ᵛ ‘ Agleberta scripsit ’; (67) fol. 105ᵛ ‘ Vera scripsit ’, at end ‘ Agnes scripsit ’. Probably binders' have cut off most signatures of this kind in medieval MSS., so that we think the practice (though examples are not rare) to have been rarer than it really was.

Of course, the usual reason for the employment of a great number of scribes was that the transcript had to be made in a great hurry. Since some twenty scribes' hands appear in the 74 leaves of Alcuin miscellanea now at Cologne (n.° 106), some leaves in Anglosaxon script but most in Tours minuscule, it is clear that this is the identical MS. which was prepared at Tours in a hurry by Alcuin in 802 for Bishop Arno of Salzburg (as W. Meyer shewed).

G. Dictation.

The few eccentric persons who still believe that our MSS. were written to dictation cannot have read Wattenbach's remarks (in his Schriftwesen) on this delusion. Silence was enforced in the monastery-scriptorium. *Dictare* (Germ. dichten) means ‘ to compose ’ in such sentences as: (Engelberg 18 Augustini Confessiones; “ saec. xii ”) Hic Augustini liber est opus ac Froewini. Alter dictavit. alter scribendo notavit; (Vienna 743 Origen) Explicit liber quem dictavit Origenis. It means ‘ to command ’ in the subscription of the Book of Armagh (see Gwynn's edition) ‘ Ferdomnach hunc librum ... dictante Torbach herede Patricii scripsit ’. *Contra legere* means ‘ to collate ’ in such a sentence as that mentioned above, at the beginning of section II. *Legere* means the same or ‘ to revise ’ in the famous Juvenal entry: Legente Aepicarpio, scrinbentis Exuperantio servo. *Lector* means, I think, the monastery-teacher (in Irish ‘ fer leigind ’) in the cryptograph in Munich, Staatsbibl. 4115 (“ saec. viii-ix ”) Lex Salica: Ut potui sub omni giletate (*leg.* agilitate) exaravi Ne lectoris animum tedio

oppremerem (unless it refers to his future readers). In the first picture in the Egino-Codex Egino can hardly be dictating to the scribe; for Egino holds in his hands a book open at the page 'In principio erat verbum', while the scribe's page shews 'Audistis, fratres karissimi'.

Those who rely on the confusions of words of similar sound forget that in all transcription there is such a thing as 'subconscious dictation'.

H. Probationes Pennae.

The purpose is avowed in e. g. Oxford, Bodl. 340 ("saec. x"): probatio penne si bona sit, probatio incauxti (*leg.* encausti) si bonum sit; ibid. Laud. misc. 159 ("saec. x") probatio scriptoris.

To fill pages (to no profit) with examples would be easy. I select a few worthy of mention. The use of Catonis Disticha in the monastery-schools explains the frequency of the couplet:

Si Deus est animus nobis, ut carmina dicunt, etc.,

e. g. Paris, Bibl. Nat. 8093 Anthology ("saec. ix" Visigothic minuscule of Lyons), fol. 36^r; ibid. nouv. acq. 1750 the Lyons Pentateuch (uncial), fol. 226^v; Amiens 88 Theodorus Mopsuestensis (Corbie), fol. 182^v; Autun 107 Augustine (Visigothic half-uncial of Burgundy), fol. 65^r, fol. 103^v, fol. 120^v, etc.; London, Brit. Mus., Harl. 1772 Epistles and Apocalypse ("saec. ix"), fol. 38^v.

In the last example the first line of Cato is followed by the first line of Virgil's Eclogues (ignorantly written):

Titure ti patule recubens suc tecmine fagis.

Virgil's use in monastery-schools is attested by the same 'probatio pennae' in other MSS., e. g. the Fulda Agrimensores ("saec. ix"), at end: Tytire tu patulae... tenui musam. The conclusion of the Eclogues appears in the Essen Gospels, fol. 1^v: omnia vincit amos et nos cetmos amori (see above, paragraph A); in another Essen MS. Düsseldorf B 3; ab-type), at end: a b c d omnia vincit amor.

Special interest is attached to a 'probatio pennae' in the bottom margin of fol. 76^v of Autun 27: Rure morans quid

agam. This is the opening of a charming poem, descriptive of the life of a country-gentleman and scholar, which appears in the best family of Martial MSS. (and in Latin Anthologies) and which I would fain attribute to the ancient editor of Martial (see my 'Ancient Editions of Martial', p. 9). Its appearance in a MS. of Burgundy may have some significance. Indeed the list above suggests that a clue to provenance may be furnished in these 'probationes'.

On the fly-leaf at the end of Durham B IV 24 ("saec. xi"): In his duobus versibus continentur omnes litterae abecedarii,

Equore cum gelido zephirus fert xenia kymbis
Y quod habens signat mihi lex profitens katecizat.

Similary St Gall 913, Vocabularius S. Galli, has on p. 89 two hexameters containing all the letters of the alphabet:

Te canit adcelebratque polus rex gazifer hymnus
Trans zephyrique globum scandunt tua fata per axem.

Those who like thrills may read Dieterich's brilliant article 'ABC-Denkmäler' (Rhein. Mus. LVI [1901], p. 79) on the magical significance of SATOR AREPO TENET OPERA ROTAS, that forward-backward mystery of manuscripts' fly-leaves.

V. — I Longa.

To the summary in Palae. Lat. I, pp. 26-29 and to the fuller treatment in Loew's 'Studia Palaeographica' (where the refusal to recognize I longa in Insular script is a hard saying) I add the details which I happened to note in a number of the MSS. used for my Notae Latinae: (Where the script is not specified, it is Continental minuscule. The words selected are typical).

Albi 29 Synonyma Ciceronis, etc. ("saec. ix"; Visigothic minuscule of Albi?; by more than one scribe; foll. 78) In, Iure, proInde, eIus, Ignoro, etc.; Ille (by one scribe only).

Amiens 6, 7, 8, 9 and 11 Maurdramnus Bible (Corbie; by more than one scribe) None.

18 Corbie Psalter ("saec. viii ex.") None.

88 Theodorus of Mopsuestia on the Pauline Epistles (Corbie; "saec. ix") None.

Autun 3 Gospels (Burgundy; 754 A. D.) In the minuscule passages In, Iuxta, huIus (sometimes). But not in *ille*.

20 Gregorii Dialogi. Augustini Enchiridion ("saec. viii-ix": in the so-called N. E. France minuscule: by more than one scribe; foll. 203) In, Iuris, Ipse. But not in *eius, ille*.

20A Cassiodori Expositio Psalmorum (Burgundian minuscule: "saec. viii-ix") None. Other parts of this MS. are Troyes 657 (it too has none), Lyons 402.

21 Gregorii Moralia ("saec. viii"; by more than one scibe; foll. 174) None.

23 Isidori Sententiae ("saec. viii-ix"; by more than one scribe; foll. 143) None.

24 Cassianus de Capitalibus Vitiis (Visigothic half-uncial) I longior, In, Iam, IeIunus.

107 Augustini Sermones super Psalmos (half-uncial) None.

Bale F III 15a Isidorus de Natura Rerum et de Proprietate Sermonum (Anglosaxon minuscule of Fulda: "saec. viii": by more than one scribe) None (except sometimes In).

F III 15b Isidorus de Natura Rerum; Vitae Sanctorum (Anglosaxon minuscule of Fulda: "saec. viii": by more than one scribe; foll. 45) None (except Ipse, not however *in*, by one scribe).

F III 15c Isidorus de Synonymis (Anglosaxon minuscule of Fulda: "saec. viii"; by more than one scribe: foll. 62) None, except (by one scribe) deInde, eIus.

F III 15f Isidorus de Summo Incommutabili Deo, etc. (from Fulda; "saec. viii ex."; by more than one scribe; foll. 66). I longior sometimes, In, Iudex.

F III 15k Isidorus de Natura Rerum; Beda de Computo, foll. 1-59 (from Fulda; "saec. ix") None.

F III 15l Isidori Liber Differentiarum (from Fulda: Insular minuscule; saec. viii; by more than one scribe: foll. 20) None.

Bamberg E III 19 Scriptores Historiae Augustae (Anglosaxon minuscule: "saec. ix") In, Iam (sometimes), Ita (sometimes). But not *eius, ille*.

M V 12, part ii Jerome on Book of Proverbs ("saec. viii

ex."; foll. 101) None. This MS. belonged to Meginfrit, Charlemagne's chamberlain.

Berlin Hamilton 31 Concilium Aquisgranense (from Albi; saec. ix) None.

Hamilton 553 Salaberga Psalter (from Laon: Anglosaxon half-uncial; foll. 64) Sometimes In. Iam, Ignis. But not *eius*.

lat. theol. F 356 Gregorii Homiliae (written for Hildegrim and presented by him to his brother Liudger's new foundation at Werden: Anglosaxon minuscule; saec. viii ex.; foll. 96) In. But not *iam*, *cuius*, *ignis*.

lat. theol. F. 366 Pauline Epistles (written by or for Liudger: Anglosaxon minuscule; saec. viii ex.; foll. 94) In, Iam (sometimes), Ita (sometimes).

lat. theol. Q 139 Gospels (from Werden: Anglosaxon minuscule; "saec. ix"; foll. 145) In, Iam, Ita (sometimes).

Phillipps 1667 Liber Sacramentorum ("saec. ix in."; by many scribes; foll. 220) In. But not *huius*.

Phillipps 1676 the Egino Codex (written at Verona: saec. viii ex.; foll. 309) In, Iudeus, maIor (sometimes), Ita (sometimes).

Phillipps 1743 Concilia (from Rheims: "saec. viii"; by more than one scribe; foll. 301) None; except that one scribe prolongs *i* below the line in *in*, *iudex*, etc.

Phillipps 1825 Commodiani Instructiones (the 'codex Andegavensis?'; apparently rather Veronese; "saec. viii-ix"; by many scribes; foll. 46) In, Iam, cuIus, Ignis (sometimes), Ille (sometimes).

Phillipps 1831 Beda de Temporibus (Verona minuscule; saec. ix in.; by more than one scribe; foll. 143) In, Iam (sometimes), maIor (sometimes). But not *ipse*.

Berne 167 Virgil, with Servius' Commentary (with Breton glosses; "saec. ix-x"; by more than one scribe; foll. 214) None.

363 Horace, Virgil, etc. (Irish minuscule, probably written in North Italy by one of the Sedulius circle; saec. ix ex.; foll. 197) In.

Boulogne 11 (10), foll. 1-92 Gospels (from Arras: large Anglosaxon minuscule; "saec. viii-ix") In.

48 (44) Augustini Retractationes (written at St Bertin in the abbacy of Nantharius, 804-820; foll. 77) None.

52 (48) Augustini Opuscula (written at St Bertin before 823) None.

63-64 (58) Augustini Epistolae (from St Bertin; Anglosaxon minuscule; by more than one scribe) None.

66 (60) Augustinus c. Cresconium (from St Bertin; "saec. ix in."; foll. 151) None.

Brussels 8780-93 Canons (perhaps from Stavelot; "saec. viii"; by many scribes) In, Iam, maIor (sometimes).

9403 Gregory of Tours ("saec. viii-ix"; by many scribes) In, Iohannes.

Cambrai 282 (300) Augustinus de Trinitate (from Cambrai; "saec. viii"; foll. 197) In, Iam, conIungo (sometimes).

441 (470) Philippus' Commentary on Job (half-uncial, with some Insular features; by more than one scribe; foll. 205) In, Iustus, eIus, Ita, Ille (sometimes), etc.

619 (679) Canones Hibernenses (written at Cambrai, 763-790, from an Irish script exemplar; foll. 75) None; except that *i* is sometimes prolonged below the line in *in*, *iustus*.

624 (684) Gregory of Tours (uncial and half-uncial; by more than one scribe; foll. 184) None.

836 (937) Isidori Liber Prooemiorum, de Natura Rerum, etc. (uncial; foll. 70) In, Iuxta, etc.

Cambridge (Univ.) Ff IV 42 Juvencus (Welsh minuscule; "saec. ix"; foll. 55) In, Iustus, conIunx, Ipse.

Kk V 16 the Moore Bede (from Le Mans; Anglosaxon minuscule, c. 737; foll. 128) In, Iam, Ille (sometimes).

Ll I 10 the Book of Cerne (Anglosaxon large minuscule; foll. 99) In, deInceps, Iustus, adIutor (sometimes), Ita (sometimes).

(Corp. Chr. Coll.) 69 Homiliae in Evangelia (Anglosaxon large minuscule; foll. 83) In, Iudaei, Igitur (rarely). But not *maior*.

144 the Corpus Glossary (from Canterbury; Anglosaxon large minuscule; foll. 65). The *i* is prolonged above and below in *in, coniunxit, ipse*.

153 Martianus Capella (Welsh minuscule; "saec. ix post."; by many scribes; foll. 86) Sometimes *i* longior in *in*.

173, part ii Sedulius (perhaps from Winchester; Anglosaxon minuscule; foll. 27) In, Iugum (sometimes), Ignis.

183 Bede's Life of St Cuthbert, etc. (Anglosaxon minunuscule; "saec. ix in."; foll. 96) In, Iussus, etc.

193 Ambrosii Hexaemeron (Corbie ab-script; by more than one scribe; foll. 170) In, Iudico (sometimes), eIus, Ignis (sometimes).

320, part ii Canones Poenitentiales (probably written in Brittany; "saec. ix"; foll. 54) None.

334 Origenes super Lucam (Laon az-script; by many scribes; foll. 111) In, Ioseph, cuIus, Ipse (sometimes).

399 Juliani Toletani Prognostica ("saec. ix ant."; by more than one scribe) None.

(Trin. Coll.) 216 Pauline Epistles ("de manu Baedae"; Anglosaxon minuscule; foll. 67) In (sometimes), Ita (sometimes).

Carlsruhe, Reichenau 57 Isidori Etymologiae XIII-XX (written in N. Italy, possibly Verona, in a unique type of early minuscule; "saec. viii"; foll. 90) In, Iam (sometimes), huIus (sometimes), Ignis (sometimes).

Reichenau 222 (1) Apocalypsis et Epistolae Canonicae, (2) Primasius in Apocalypsin ("saec. viii ex." and "ix in."; by more than one scribe; foll. 224) In, Iam (sometimes). huIus (sometimes), Ille (sometimes).

Cassel, theol. F 49. foll. 1-87 Origen's Homilies on the Books of Kings (from Fulda; "saec. ix") In, Iustus (sometimes).

theol. F. 54 Liber Sapientiae, etc. (from Fulda; Anglosaxon minuscule; "saec. ix"; by more than one scribe; foll. 76) In, Iudico.

theol. F 65 Hegesippus (from Fulda library half-uncial; foll. 156) In. Iudaei, huIus, Ipse (sometimes).

theol. O 5 Apocalypsis; Homiliae in Apocalypsin (from Fulda library; "saec. viii"; by more than one scribe; foll. 82. None (unless *i* longior in *in*).

theol. Q 2 Bede's History (from Fulda; Insular minuscule; "saec. viii"; foll. 50) None (unless *i* longior in *in*, *iuxta*).

theol. Q 6 Iuliani Toletani Prognostica (from Fulda; Anglo-

saxon minuscule ; " saec. ix " ; foll. 51) In. But not *iam*, *huius*. One scribe however writes sometimes Iam, Ita.

theol. Q 10 Augustinus in Librum Proverbiorum ; Homiliae (from Fulda ; " saec. viii " ; by more than one scribe ; foll. 142. Sometimes In, Iudex, etc.

Cheltenham 8400 Homiliary of Ottobeuren (Swabia ; " saec. viii ") In, Iudei, huIus, Ipse, etc. But not *ille*.

12261 Augustini varia ; Commodiani carm. apolog. (probably the first part of Berlin Phill. 1825) In, Iam, cuIus, deInde, But not *ille*, *iste*, etc.

17849, part i Concilia (between half-uncial and minuscule ; " saec. viii " ; foll. 62) In, huIus, etc. But not *ibi*, etc.

part ii Concilia (minuscule of " saec. viii-ix " ; foll. 32) None.

Colmar 38, part i Gospels (from Murbach ; Continental minuscule of " saec. viii " ; by more than one scribe ; foll. 172) None.

part ii Epistles (from Murbach ; Anglosaxon minuscule of " saec. viii " ; by more than one scribe ; foll. 66) None.

39 Isidorus de Ortu et Obitu Patrum, de Mystica Numerorum Sign. (from Murbach ; " saec. viii " ; by more than one scribe ; foll. 180) In, Iam. But not *eius*, *ille*.

40 Gregorii Cura Pastoralis (from Murbach ; " saec. ix " ; by many scribes) None.

82 Cassiani Collationes probably from Murbach ; " saec. ix in " ; by more than one scribe ; foll. 75) None.

Cologne (and, most of them, written at Cologne)

41 Iohannes Constantinus in Ep. ad Hebraeos (time of Hildebald ; by more than one scribe ; foll. 175) None.

43 Hieronymi Praefationes in libros V. T. (between half-uncial and minuscule ; " saec. viii " ; foll. 167) In Iudeus, Ignis, etc. But not *eius*, *ille*.

51 Hieronymus in Ezechielem (time of Hildebald ; by many scribes ; foll. 208) None (but by one scribe In).

54 Hieronymi varia (time of Hildebald ; foll. 163) None

55 Hieronymus in Michaeam, etc. (time of Hildebald ; by many scribes ; foll. 144) None (?).

63 Augustinus in Psalmos (time of Hildebald ; by three nuns ; foll. 264) None.

67 Augustinus in Psalmos (time of Hildebald ; by many nuns ; foll. 183) None.

76 Augustini opuscula ("saec. viii": by more than one scribe; foll. 222) None.

83[II] Isidori varia; Scholia in Aratea, etc. (written for Hildebald in 805; by many scribes; foll. 219) None.

91 Canones ("saec. viii": by more than one scribe; foll. 112) None.

92 Gregorii Epistolae (time of Hildebald; by more than one scribe; foll. 180) None.

98 Isidori Quaestiones ("saec. viii med.": by more than one scribe; foll. 166) The *i* is prolonged above and below in *in, iustus, cuius, ita* (sometimes) etc.

106 Alcuini varia. foll. 1-47, 61-77 (Tours minuscule; time of Alcuin; by very many scribes) None (except by one scribe In, Iustus).

foll. 48-60 (Anglosaxon minuscule of Tours; tiwe of Alcuin; by more than one scribe) In, Iustus. But not *huius*.

108 Homiliae Patrum (time of Hildebald; by more than one scribe) None.

165 Vitae Patrum (half-uncial) None.

210 Collectio Canonum Hibernensis ("saec. viii"; by many scribes; foll. 151) In, Iam, culus, Ideo (sometimes).

212 Collectio Canonum (half-uncial; foll. 170) None.

213 Collectio Canonum (Insular half-uncial; by more than one scribe; foll. 143) None (?).

Douai 12 Gospels (from Marchiennes Abbey, near Douai; "saec. viii-ix"; foll. 113) In, Iuxta, eIus (rarely). But not *ipse, ille*.

Dublin, Trin. Coll. s. n. Book of Armagh (written at Armagh, 808; Irish minuscule; foll. 222) In, Igitur.

Durham A II 16 Gospels (uncial, both of Continental and of Insular type, and Insular half-uncial) In, Iuxta, Iterum, etc. But not *ille*. One scribe has none.

A II 17, foll. 1-102 Gospels (Insuiar half-uncial; probably by more than one scribe) None.

B II 20 Cassiodorus in Psalmos (between Insular half-uncial and minuscule) The *i* is prolonged above and below in *in, iustitia*. But not *id*, etc. One scribe has none.

Einsiedeln 18 Commentarius in Psalmos ("saec. viii-ix"; by

more than one scribe; pp. 333) In, Iustus, huIus. But not *ille*.

27 Ascetica, foll. 1-24 (" saec. viii ") None (except In sometimes).

157 Gregorius in Ezechielem (" saec. viii " ; pp. 291) None.

281, pp. 1-178 + 199, pp. 431-526 Ascetica (" saec. viii med. " ; by more than one scribe) None.

347 Rufini Historia Ecclesiastica (" saec. viii " ; pp. 458) None.

Epinal 68 Hieronymi Epistolae (from Murbach ; 744 A. D. ; by many scribes ; foll. 209 In, Iustus (sometimes), eIus (sometimes). But not *ille* (tough one scribe prolongs the *i* below).

Essen Gospels (" saec. ix in " ; by many scribes ; foll. 170) the *i* is prolonged above and below sometimes in *in*, *iam*, *eius*.

Florence Am. 1 Codex Amiatinus (witten at Jarrow, 690-716 ; uncial ; foll. 1029) None.

Fulda D 1 Codex Theodosianus ; Formulae Andecavenses (from Constance ; " saec. viii " ; by more than one scribe ; foll. 185) Sometimes *i* longior in *in*. *iam*.

Bonif. 2 the Ragyndrudis Codex (Luxeuil type ; by more than one scribe) In, Iam, maIor (sometimes), Iste (sometimes). But not *ille*.

Glasgow Hunter T IV 13 Medica varia (" saec. viii-ix " ; by more than one scribe) In, etc.

Gotha I 85 Canones Murbacenses (" saec. viii-ix " ; by more than one scribe) None.

Hague ' Philippus ' Commentary on Job (probably from Metz ; " saec. viii med. " ; by very many scribes ; foll. 199) In. Iudex, eIus (sometimes), Ita (sometimes).

Hereford P I 2 Hereford Gospels (Insular large minuscule ; foll. 135) None.

Ivrea 42 Bede de Temp., etc. ; Canons (" saec. ix in. " ; foll. 111) Sometimes In.

99 Gospels (North Italian minuscule ; " saec. viii-ix ") In, Iacob. But not *eius*.

Laon 26 (flyleaves) (Irish minuscule of " saec. viii-ix " In, Iustus, etc.

81 Joh. Scottus on St John's Gospel (Caroline minuscule ; saec. ix med. ; by more than one scribe) None.

96 Clementis Expositiones (Laon minuscule; " saec. ix"; foll. 68) None.

137 Orosius (Laon az-script; foll. 130) In, Ioseph, etc. But not *cuius, ibi*, etc.

201 Glossary; Canons (written at Cambrai, 831-863, by many scribes; foll. 112) None.

319 Taionis Sententiae (Laon minuscule; " saec. ix in."; foll. 180) In, Iam (sometimes). But not *huius, ipse*.

328[bis] Cassiani Institutiones (" saec. ix"; by more than one scribe; foll. 146) None.

423 Isidorus de Natura Rerum (Laon az-script; by more than one scribe; foll. 79) In, proInde. But not *iove, cuius, ipse*, etc.

Leyden 67 Prisciani Periegesis et Grammatica (from Egmont Abbey; written in 838 in Irish minuscule by many scribes; foll. 218) In, huIus (sometimes).

67 F Glossary (" saec. viii-ix"; by many scribes) In, Iure (sometimes), eIus (sometimes), etc.

114 Codex Theodosianus (from Rheims; " saec. ix in"; by many scribes) In, Iudex, Ipse (sometimes).

Scaliger 28 Bede (from Flavigny in the diocese of Autun, with Insular abbreviation; saec. ix in.; by more than one scribe) In (sometimes).

Voss. F 26 Glossaries (from Ghent; " saec. viii-ix" foll. 48) None.

Voss. F 73 Nonius Marcellus (Tours minuscule of " saec. ix ant."; by many scribes) None.

Voss. Q 5 Ydacius (apparently from St Gall; " saec. ix in.") In, Iustus.

Voss. Q 60 Liber Pontificalis (from Rheims; " saec. viii-ix"; foll. 122).

Voss. Q 63 Gregory of Tours (" saec. viii"; by many scribes) In, Iubeo, Ignoro (sometimes). But one scribe has none.

Voss. Q 110 Eusebii Chronica (written at Micy, c. 850; foll. 166) Sometimes In, Iosephus, TroIanus, Ita.

Lichfield Gospels (Welsh half-uncial; foll. 110) None.

Liege 306 Jerome's Quaest. Hebr.; Bede on Books of Kings (from St Trond; 834 A. D.; by more than one scribe; foll. 107) In (by one scribe).

London Add. 5463 Gospels (S. Vincenzo al Volturno ; 739-760 ; uncial) None.

Add. 11878 Gregorii Moralia (Luxeuil type ; foll. 78) In, Iudicio, eIus, Igitur, aIt. But not *ille*.

Add. 11880 Vitae Sanctorum (perhaps from Bavaria ; "saec. ix"; foll. 240) In (sometimes).

Add. 18332 Theologica varia (Carinthia ? ; "saec. ix post" ; by many scribes ; foll. 178) Sometimes In.

Add. 24143 Gregorii Moralia (Merovingian minuscule ; "saec. viii post." ; foll. 59) In, Iudaeus.

Add. 29972, foll. 26-38 Augustini Sermones (Luxeuil type) In, cuIus (sometimes). But not *ille*.

Add. 30852 Orationale (N. Spain ; Visigothic minuscule ; "saec. ix ex." ; by more than one scribe ; foll. 115) In, Iudicium, eIus, Ille.

Add. 31031 Gregorii Moralia (Laon az-script ; by more than one scribe ; foll. 145) In, Iam, Ignoro. But not *ille, cuius*.

Cotton Cal. A xv, fol. 1-117 Jerome ; Computus, etc. France ; 743 A. D. ; by more than one scribe) In, deInde, Iudaea ; eIus.

Cotton Nero A ii, foll. 14-45 (Verona ? ; 767 A. D. ?) In. But not *iustus*, etc.

Cotton Tib. A xiv Bede's History (Anglosaxon minuscule ; "saec. viii" ; foll. 201) In, Iubeo (sometimes).

Cotton Vesp. B vi, foll. 104-109 Miscellanea (Anglosaxon minuscule of Mercia ; 811-814) In, Iam, etc.

Egerton 609 Gospels (from Marmoutier, near Tours ; "saec ix in." ; by more than one scribe ; foll. 102) In (sometimes).

Egerton 1934 Fragment of Isidori Pacensis Chronicon (Visigothic minuscule ; "saec. ix in." ; foll. 2) In, Iudex, huIus, Ignis.

Egerton 2831 Jerome on Isaiah (Continental and Insular minuscule of Tours ; "saec. viii" ; foll. 143) In, Iuxta, eIus (sometimes).

Harley 2965 Book of Nunnaminster (Anglosaxon half-uncial or large minuscule ; foll. 40) In.

Harley 3034 Isidore extracts ; Augustin's Enchiridion, etc. (Middle Frankish region ? ; "saec. viii" ; fol. 96) None.

Harley 5041, part i Theological Tracts (Merovingian minuscule; "saec. vii"; foll. 8) Sometimes Iam, maIor. But not *in* (!).

Harley 7653 Litany (Anglosaxon half-uncial or large minuscule; foll. 7) In.

Royal 2 A xx Lectionary (Anglosaxon half-uncial or large minuscule; by many scribes; foll. 52) In, Iuris, Ipse.

Royal 1 B vii Gospels (Anglosaxon half-uncial and minuscule; "saec. viii"; probably by more than one scribe; foll. 155) None.

Royal 1 E vi Canterbury Gospels (Anglosaxon half-uncial or large minuscule; by many scribes; foll. 77) In, Iuro, maIor, aIt, Itaque (sometimes). But not *ille*.

Lons-le-Saulnier Bede (St Claude, Jura; 804-815; foll. 232) None.

Lucca 490 Eusebii Chronica, etc. (written at Lucca, c. 800; uncial and minuscule of various types) In, deInceps, Iuxta, Ita (sometimes). But not *eius* (by one scribe). Sometimes maIor (by one scribe).

Luxemburg 44 Gregorii Dialogi (from Echternach; "saec. ix in."; foll. 129) None.

68 Augustinus in Psalmos (from Echternach; "saec. viii-ix"; probably by more than one scribe; foll. 142) None.

Lyons 378 (449) Bede on Books of Kings (written at Lyons, 840-852) None.

523[bis] (607) Augustini Civitas Dei (the ancient minuscule of the marginalia) In, Iam, huIus, always after *r*.

524 (608) Augustinus de Natura et Gratia, etc. (written at Lyons; saec. viii-ix; foll. 168) None.

526 (610) Augustinus contra Faustum (written at Lyons; saec. viii-ix; foll. 155 None.

Maeseyck Gospels (Abbey of Alden-Eyck; Anglosaxon half-uncial) In, Iam (sometimes), Ignis (sometimes).

Maihingen Gospels (Anglosaxon half-uncial of Echternach; foll. 157) In (sometimes), Ignis (sometimes).

Manchester 15 Cypriani Epistolae (Murbach; "saec. viii"; by many scribes; foll. 203) None.

194 Origenes in Epist. ad Rom. (Beauvais; "saec. ix"; foll. 163) In, Iudaeus.

Metz 7 Bible (Metz; "saec. viii-ix"; foll. 359) None.

76 Prophetae (Anglosaxon minuscule; "saec. ix"; by more than one scribe) In. Iudex (sometimes). But not *eius*.

134 Theologica varia (Metz; "saec. viii"; by more than one scribe) Sometimes *i* longior in *in*.

Milan (Ambr.) C 301 inf. Theodorus' Commentary on Psalms (Irish minuscule of Bobbio; "saec. viii") In.

H 150 inf Victorius Aquitanus (from Bobbio; c. 810; by more than one scribe) In, exInde, Iam. But not *cuius*.

(Trivulz.) 688 Juliani Epitome (N. Ital. minuscule; before c. 800) In, deInde, Ius. But not *eius*.

Modena O I 11 Isidori Chronica; Medica varia (N. Ital. minusc.; 800 A. D.) Sometimes In, deInde, Iubeo. But not *huius*.

O I 17 Isidore's Etymologies (N. Ital. cursive; "saec. viii med.") In, Ius, conIunctus, Ipse, etc.

Montpellier 55 Passiones Sanctorum (Burgundian minuscule; "saec. viii-ix"; by many scribes) None; but by some scribes In, Iam.

61 Gregorii Homiliae (from Troyes; "saec. ix") None.

141, foll. 1 80, 95-135 Alcuin, etc. ("saec. ix in."; by more than one scribe) None.

409 Charlemagne's Psalter (from Auxerre; saec. viii ex) None.

Munich (Staatsbibl.) 3514 Passionale (from Augsburg; uncial, with parts in large minuscule; by more than one scribe; pp. 307) In. But not *eius*, *ita*.

3731 Gregorii Homiliae (from Augsburg; Anglosaxon minuscule; "saec. viii"; by more than one scribe; foll. 91) In, Judea. But not *eius*.

4542 Gregorii Homiliae (Kisyla group; by more than one scribe; foll. 256) None.

4547 Sermones (Kisyla group; foll. 250) None.

4549 Cassiani Collationes (Kisyla group; by more than one scribe; foll. 141) In. But not *iure*, *huius*.

4554 Passionale (Kisyla group; by more than one scribe; foll. 164) None.

4564 Alani Farfensis Homiliarium (Kisyla group; by more than one scribe; foll. 244) None.

4577 S. Pauli Epistolae, etc. (Kisyla group ; foll. 95) None.

6224 Freising Gospels (uncials of Italy ?, foll. 251) None.

6237 Gregory on Ezechiel (written at Freising by Peregrinus : Anglosaxon minuscule and Bavaria minuscule ; saec. viii post ; foll. 186) In, Iam, adIungo, Igitur (sometimes).

6239 Job, Tobias etc. (Freising ; "saec. viii" ; foll. 103) None.

6262 Hrabanus Maurus in Paralipomena (written at Freising, 854-875 ; foll. 147) None.

6273 Ambrosius in Lucam (written at Freising, 812-834 ; foll. 224) None. (In sometimes ?)

6278 Gregorii Moralia (from Freising ; uncial and large minuscule ; "saec. viii" ; by more than one scribe ; foll. 131) Sometimes *i* longior in *in, iam*. But not *eius*.

6298 Augustini Homiliae (from Freising ; Anglosaxon large minuscule ; "saec. viii" ; by more than one scribe : foll. 114) In.

6382, foll. 44-172 Gregorii Moralia (Freising ; saec ix ant.) None.

6402 Juvencus (from Freising . "saec. viii ; by more than one scribe ; foll. 63) Apparently *i* longior in *in, iam, coniux* (sometimes).

14080 Isaiah and Jeremiah (from Ratisbon ; Anglosaxon large minuscule or half-uncial, with passages in Continental minuscule ; "saec. viii" ; foll. 112) In. But not *eius*.

14210 Rabani Mauri Inst. Cleric. (Anglosaxon and Continental minuscule of Ratisbon ; "saec. ix" ; by many scribes ; foll. 127 In, perInde, IeIunium, Item (sometimes). But not *eius*.

14437 Augustinus in Epist. I S. Johannis (written by two Ratisbon scribes in 823 ; foll. 109) In.

14468 Theological Tracts (written at Ratisbon in 821 ; foll. 112) None.

14653 Augustinus in Johannem (from Ratisbon ; Anglosaxon large minuscule ; "saec. viii") In, deInde, Iam (sometimes). But not *eius*, *ipse*.

19101 Gospels (from Tegernsee ; late uncial) None.

28118 Regulae Patrum (written at Trèves, or else Aniane ; saec. viii ex. ; by more than one scribe ; foll. 215) None.

(Univ.) 4-to 3 Sulpicius Severus ("saec. viii-ix"; by many scribes; foll. 124). Sometimes *i* longior in *in*.

8-vo 132 Leges Baiwariorum (Bavarian minuscule; "saec. ix in"; foll. 87.) Sometimes *i* longior in *in*.

Namur 11 Bede's History; Gregory of Tours (from St Hubert in the Ardennes; "saec. ix"; by many scribes) None; but by one scribe sometimes In, Ius.

Orléans 193 (221) Canons (Breton; by more than one scribe) None.

255 (302), pp. 1-82 Sedulius (Breton; in Insular half-uncial) None.

Oxford Auct. D. II 19 Macregol (or Rushworth) Gospels (Irish half-uncial of about 800; by more than one scribe) Sometimes *i* longior in *in*.

Auct. F IV 32, foll. 19-36 Liber Commonei (Welsh minuscule of probably 817) In, Iustus.

Canon Patr. lat. 112 (written at Corbie; "saec. ix in."; by more than one scribe) None.

Digby 63 Tracts on the Paschal Cycle (from Winchester; written about the middle of the ninth century in a curious minuscule of Insular type) In, Iure. But not *cuius, ipse*.

Douce 176 Evangeliary ("saec. ix") None.

Junius 25 Ethici Cosmographia; Glossaries, etc. (from Murbach; "saec. viii"; by a great number of scribes, possibly not all contemporary) None; except sometimes *i* longior in *in*.

Lat. theol. d 3 Commentary on the Pentateuch ("saec. viii-ix"; by many scribes) In, Ioseph, Ignis, Ipse, Ille (sometimes). But not *cuius*.

Laud. lat. 22 Maccabees (with German glosses; "saec. ix") None.

Laud. lat. 92 Deuteronomy, etc. (written at Würzburg, 832-842, in Anglosaxon minuscule) In, Iam, eIus.

Paris 528 Theologica Varia (from Limoges; "saec. ix in."; by many scribes) In, Iuro sometimes). But not *huius*.

653 Pelagius in S. Pauli Epistolas (written in North Italy; "saec. viii ex."; by more than one scribe) In, Iohannes, Ipse, Ille.

1012 Gregorii Opuscula (from Limoges; "saec. viii-ix";

by more than one scribe) In, deInde. But not *eius*, *iustus*.

1451 Canons (from St Maur-les-Fossés; written in 796 by more than one scribe) None by the first scribe. The second uses *i* longior in *in*.

1603 Canons (from St Amand; " saec. viii ex. "; by many scribes) In.

1771 Augustini Opuscula (" saec. ix in. "; foll. 1-30 in Anglosaxon minuscule) In, Iudex, eIus (sometimes), Ipse (sometimes).

1820 Jerome on Isaiah (from Micy; " saec. viii post "; by many scribes) In, Iuda, eIus.

1853 Hieronymus in S. Pauli Epistolas (" saec. viii "; by more than one scribe) None.

2109 Eugippius (written at St Amand under Lotharius scriptor, saec. viii-ix, by more than one scribe) None.

2110 Eugippius (written in a script between half-uncial and minuscule of " N. E. France " by more than one scribe probably; " saec. vii-viii ") None.

2123 Liber Pontificalis; Marculfi Formulae, etc. (of 795-816; by many scribes) None.

2341 Computus; Liber Comitis, etc. (from Le Puy in Haute Loire.; written before 843 by many scribes) None.

2706 Augustine on Genesis (half-uncial of " N. E. France "; by many scribes) None.

2739 Theologica varia (Merovingiam minuscule of " saec. vii-viii ") In, Iaceo, Ideo, eIus (sometimes).

2796 Gregory's Homilies; Computus; Canons, etc. (written in 813 by many scribes) None.

2824 Isidori Prooemia, etc. (written in an early form of the Corbie ab-script by more than one scribe; " saec. viii ") In, Iubeo, eIus, deInde.

3837 Canones Apostolorum (apparently written at Angers before 829 by more than one scribe) I longior in *in iunctus*, *subiaceo*.

4403 Codex Theodosianus (" saec. viii "; by more than one scribe) In, Iudex. But not *huius*.

4403[a] Codex Theodosianus (Corbie en-type; by more than one scribe) In, Iam, maIestas, Igitur (sometimes).

4403[b] Codex Theodosianus (" saec. viii ex. ") Sometimes eIus (projecting below also).

4404 Breviarium Alarici (probably by more than one scribe; 803-814) None.

4413 Breviarius Alarici (written at Bayeux in 833) None.

4568 Juliani Constitutiones (written apparently in Italy; " saec. viii-ix ") In, Iustus, maIor (sometimes), Ipse (often).

5543 Dionysius Exiguus, etc. (written, perhaps at Fleury, in the middle of the ninth century by more than one scribe) None.

6400[F], foll. 112-193 Isidorus de mundo, etc. (uncial) None.

6413 Isidorus de natura rerum, etc. (uncial) None.

9380 Theodulfus Bible (from Orléans, 788-821) In, Iohannes, eIus, Ipse.

9382 Prophetae (written by Vergilius of Echternach in an Anglosaxon script between minuscule and half-uncial) None.

9389 Codex Epternacensis (Insular half-uncial and large minuscule) In, Iam. But not *eius*, *ipse*.

9427 Luxeuil Lectionary (Luxeuil type) In, Iulianus, eIus (sometimes), Ille (sometimes).

9451 Liber Comitis (in silver and gold uncial and large minuscule; apparently from the same scriptiorum as n.° 653) In (sometimes).

9517 Clementis Recognitiones (from Beauvais; not after 840; by more than one scribe probably) None.

9527 Jerome on Isaiah (from Echternach; Anglosaxon minuscule of " saec. viii med. "; by more than one scribe) In, Iudex (sometimes), Iste (sometimes). But not *eius*.

9530 Jerome on Matthew (from Echternach; " saec. viii-ix "; by many scribes) In, Iudaea (sometimes), Ita (sometimes). But not *cuius*. One scribe does not use *i* longa at all.

9565 Taius Samuel (from Echternach; Anglosaxon rude minuscule of " saec. viii "; by more than one scribe) Sometimes In, Iam, Ipse. But not *cuius*, *ille*.

9575 Claudius Taurinensis (apparently the author's own copy; written at Poitiers in 811) None.

10588 Canons ("saec. viii") None.

11504-5 Bible (written probably at St Riquier in 822 by more than one scribe) None.

11533 Bible (from Corbie; written in 850 by more than one scribe) None.

11631 Jerome's Letters ("saec. ix in."; probably by more than one scribe) None.

11738 Eusebii Historia Ecclesiastica (written at St Maur-les-Fossés, c. 840, by more than one scribe) I longior in *in*.

12048 Sacramentary of Gellone (written at Rebais, in the diocese of Meaux, about 750, in a script between French half-uncial and minuscule) In (sometimes), Ita (sometimes). But not *iustus*, *eius*.

12050 Corbie Sacramentary (shortly after 853) None.

12097 Canones (from Corbie; saec. vi; half-uncial and uncial) In the half-uncial portion In, Iuxta, eIus (sometimes).

12168 Augustini Quaestiones in Heptateuchum (from Corbie; Laon az-script; by more than one scribe) In, Iohannes, deInde. But not (or seldom) *ipse*.

12240 Cassiodorus in Psalmos (written at Corbie, "saec. viii", by more than one scribe) In, maIor.

12254 Gregorii Homiliae (from Corbie library, but written in minuscule of Visigothic type, presumably in France, by more than one scribe; "saec. ix") In, eIus, Igitur.

12281 Beda in Lucam ("saec. ix in."; with Insular abbreviations) None.

12598 Vitae Sanctorum (written at Corbie; "saec. viii"; by many scribes) None. But in the 'Merovingian' minuscule of foll. 47-53 In, IeIunus.

13026 Grammatica Varia; Prudentius, etc. ("saec. ix in."; by many scribes) None. But (by one scribe) In.

13028 Isidori Etymologiae (Corbie en-type) I longior in *iam*.

13029 Smaragdi Grammatica (from Corbie library, but with Breton glosses; "saec. ix"; by more than one scribe) None.

13047 Juvencus; Patristica Varia (written at Corbie; "saec. viii"; by more than one scribe) None (but rI, tI).

13159 Charlemagne's Psalter (small uncial of 795-800) In. Iustus.

13246 'Bobbio' Sacramentary (rude uncial, half-uncial, large minuscule) In, Iam, eIus (sometimes), Ita (sometimes).

13373 Orosius; Augustine; Alcuin; Bede (written at Corbie, between 817 and 835, by many scribes) None.

13386 Peregrinus ("saec. viii"; by more than one scribe) In, Iudico, deInde.

13729 Liber Pontificalis (written in 824-827) I longior in *in* (sometimes).

16668 Bede; Aldhelm, etc. (from Lorsch; "saec. ix"; partly in Anglosaxon minuscule, partly in Caroline) In the Anglosaxon part, In, Iustus, maIus, Ita.

17227 Gospels (written by Adalbald of Tours before 834) None.

17371, foll. 1-153 Jerome on Jeremiah (written at St Denis, 793-806, by more than one scribe) None.

17416 Fulgentii Opera (from Compiègne library; written before 827 by many scribes) None by the first scribe. By the second In, Iuro (sometimes), Ignoro (sometimes).

17451 Beda in Lucam (from Compiègne; "saec. viii ex." None (except in the leaves written in the Corbie ab-script).

17655 Gregory of Tours (from Corbie; "saec. vii"; Merovingian minuscule of cursive type) Prolonged below and above, In, Iudico. But not *ipse*.

Nouv. acq. 445 Augustini opuscula (written at Tours by Adalbald) None.

Nouv. acq. 1203 Godescalc Gospels (uncial of 781) None.

Nouv. acq. 1575 Eugippius' Extracts from St Augustine (from St Martin's, Tours: Merovingian minuscule; "saec. viii in."; by many scribes) None by one scribe. By another, *i* longior in *huius*, etc.

Nouv. acq. 1587 Gatien Gospels (from St Gatien's Tours; rude imitation of Insular half-uncial) None.

Nouv. acq. 1597 Paterius (from Fleury; "saec. viii"; partly in a script between French half-uncial and minuscule, partly in minuscule of various types) None.

Nouv. acq. 1619 Oribasius Medicus (from Fleury; "saec.

vii-viii"; between French half-uncial and minuscule). Projected below and above, In, Iobet, eIus (sometimes).

Nouv. acq. 1740 Pentateuch (from Lyons; uncial) None.

Rome (Vat.) 583 Gregory's Moralia (written apparently in Germany; "saec. ix in.") None.

1480 Priscian (with Breton glosses; "saec. ix") None.

1512 Tib. Cl. Donatu's Commentary on Virgil ("saec. ix in") None.

3321 Glossary, etc. (uncial; Central Italy apparently; "saec. viii ant.") None.

5763 Isidori Etymologiae (written probably at Bobbio, in N. Italian cursive of "saec. viii in.") In, conIunctus.

5764 Isidori Etymologiae (written apparently at Verona; "saec. ix in."; by more than one scribe) I longior, In, Iuxta, cuIus (sometimes).

5775 Claudius Taurinensis in Epp. S. Pauli (written for Bp. Teudulfus of Tortona, near Alessandria, in 862) None.

Barb. 570 Wigbald Gospels (Anglosaxon half-uncial; by many scribes) In, Ius (sometimes), Ignis (sometimes).

Pal. 68 Commentary on Psalter, with Irish and Northumbrian glosses (written in some Northumbrian monastery in Insular minuscule of "saec. viii ex.") In.

Pal 161 Lactantius (written at St Amand under Lotharius scriptor, saec. viii-ix, by many scribes) None.

Pal. 169 Ambrose on Pauline Epistles (from Lorsch; "saec. ix in."; by more than one scribe) None (except by one of the scribes).

Pal. 172 Jerome on Isaiah (from Lorsch; "saec. ix"; by more than one scribe) None.

Pal. 177 Jerome on Matthew from Lorsch; Anglosaxon minuscule of "saec. ix in."; by more than one scribe) In, Iure, cuIus (sometimes), Ita (sometimes).

Pal. 195 Augustine (from Lorsch, part in Anglosaxon minuscule, the rest in Continental; "saec. ix") In the Anglosaxon part, In (sometimes), Iohannes (sometimes); but not *eius*. In the other, *i* longior in *in*, *iam*.

Pal. 201 Augustinus c. Faustum Manichaeum (from Lorsch; "saec. ix"; by more than one scribe) In, Iam, proInde. But not *eius*.

Pal. 202 Augustinus de Trinitate (Anglosaxon minuscule, perhaps of Lorsch; "saec. viii-ix"; by more than one scribe) In, Iam, deInde, Ita (sometimes).

Pal. 220 Augustini Sermones, etc. (from Lorsch; Anglosaxon minuscule of "saec. ix in.") None.

Pal. 237 Prosper (foll. 46-58 in Anglosaxon minuscule, the rest in German of Maintz apparently; "saec. ix in.") In the Anglosaxon part In Iudaei, Ita (sometimes). In the rest, In.

Pal. 238 Prosper (from Lorsch; "saec. viii-ix") In, Iam (sometimes; rather *i* longior). But not *cuius*.

Pal. 249 Gregorii Moralia (from Lorsch; "saec. ix"; by many scribes) None by one scribe. By another, In, Iugum, Igitur.

Pal. 259 Gregorii Homiliae (apparently Anglosaxon large minuscule of "saec. viii in."; by many scribes) In.

Pal. 266 Gregory (from Lorsch; "saec. ix") In, Iudex. But not *eius*.

Pal. 554, foll. 5-12 Theologica varia (Anglosaxon minuscole of "saec. viii") In, Ius. But not *maius*.

Pal. 574 Canones (from Lorsch; "saec. viii post.") In, Iungo. But not *eius*.

Pal. 577 Canones (from Maintz; Anglosaxon minuscule of "saec. viii"; probably by more than one scribe) In (sometimes), IeIuno (sometimes). But not *huius*.

Pal. 822 Rufinus (from Lorsch; "saec ix ant."; by many scribes) In, Iustus (sometimes), huIus (sometimes), Ita (sometimes).

Pal. 834 Beda de Temporibus, etc. (from Lorsch; written, probably in 836, by more than one scribe) In, deInde. But not *ignis*.

Pal. 845 Sulpicius Severus, the part in Anglosaxon script (from Maintz; "saec. ix") In, Iam, Ignoro (sometimes). But not *cuius*.

Pal 1547 Seneca de Beneficiis (from Lorsch library, but perhaps written in Italy, "saec. viii-ix", by many scribes) In, Iudex, maIor (sometimes), Ita (sometimes).

Pal. 1588 Rhetorica varia (apparently written at Lorsch, "saec. ix"; by many scribes) None (but some scribes appear to use *i* longior in *in*, *iudex*).

Pal 1753 Grammatica varia (apparently written at Lorsch; "saec. ix": by many scribes) In, Iungo, huIus (sometimes), Iterum (sometimes).

Reg. 124 Rhabanus Maurus (written at Fulda before 847 by many scribes) None by the second scribe. By the first, In, Ita (sometimes); but not *iustus*, *eius*.

Reg. 296 Orosius, with Breton glosses ("saec. ix; by more than one scribe) None.

Reg. 316 Sacramentarium Gelasianum (late uncial; by many scribes) None.

Reg. 762 the Tours transcript of the Codex Puteanus of Livy. None (except possibly *i* longior in *in*, *iam*).

Reg. 846 Juristica varia (from Orléans; written before 814, probably by more than one scribe) None.

Reg. 1209 Alcuin (Anglosaxon minuscule of "saec. ix"; by two scribes) In, Ius, Ita (sometimes). But not *eius*.

St Gall 70 (written by Winithar, 760-761 In, Iudex. But not *ille*.

110, pp. 275-510 Breviarium Apostolorum (written probably at Verona, "saec. ix") In, Ius, eIus.

193 Caesarius ("saec. viii ex."; by more than one scribe) None, except *i* longior in *in* (sometimes).

194 Caesarius ("saec. viii") None, except *i* longior in *in*.

213 Gregorii Dialogi; Augustinus ("saec. viii") In. But not *ius*, *eius*, *ita*.

214 Gregorii Dialogi (Merovingian minuscule; by two scribes) In, eIus (sometimes), Iste (sometimes). But not *ille*.

227 Isidori Sententiae (North Italy; "saec. viii"; by more than one scribe) In, Iob, Ipse (*i* longior). But not *huius*, *ille*.

348, pp. 32-376 Sacramentarium Gelasianum (Chur; c. 800) None.

555 Adamnani Vita S. Columbae (851-872; by more than one scribe) Apparently *i* longior in *in*.

722 Breviarium Alaricianum (Chur; 800-820; by more than one scribe) None.

731 Leges Visigothorum, Salica et Alamannorum (written — where? — in 793 or 794) None.

761 Hippocrates (Anglosaxon minuscule of "saec. ix") In, huIus, Ipse.

904 Priscian (written in Ireland in Irish minuscule between 844 and 869 by, practically, two scribes) In, Iungo, conIungo.

St Omer 15 Hieronymi Breviarium in Psalterium (from St Bertin: "saec. ix in."; by many scribes) In (sometimes), Iudaei (sometimes). At least by one of the scribes.

279, foll. 1-2 (from St Bertin: Insular half-uncial or large minuscule "saec. viii") In.

St Petersburg F I 3, foll. 39-168 Hieronymus in Isaiam (from Corbie: Anglosaxon half-uncial of "saec. vii-viii"; by many scribes) In, Iudaea, Idola.

F I 5 Tripertite Psalter (Leutchar-script of Corbie: by more than one scribe) In, Iustus.

F I 6 Ambrosius in Lucam (Leutchar-script of Corbie) In.

F I 7, part i Selected Letters of Gregory (sent by Paulus Diaconus in N. Italy to Adelhard of Corbie) In, cuIus, Ita.

Q I 14 Gregorii Homiliae (from Corbie: Merovingian a-script, a predecessor of the Laon az-script: "saec. vii": In, Iam. But not *ille*.

Q I 18 Bedae Historia (Anglosaxon minuscule: "saec. viii"; by more than one scribe) In, Iam, adIuncto. But not *ipse*.

Q I 19 Rufini Expositiones (written at Corbie during Adelhard's degradation) I longior, In (sometimes), Iudex (sometimes).

Q XIV 1 Paulinus Nolanus (from Corbie: Anglosaxon half-uncial and large minuscule) In, Iam. But not *huius*, *ipse*.

O I 4 Cassiani Collationes (Corbie en-type) None.

Schaffhausen (Minist.) 78 Cassiodorus ("saec. viii-ix") None.

Stuttgart H. B. VII 39 Bede on Proverbs (writtens at Constance, 811-839) None.

H. B. XIV 15 Vitae Sanctorum ("saec. ix in.") None.

Trèves (Stadt.) 118, foll. 124-183 Disputatio Fidei ("saec. ix") None.

122 Ambrosius (written at Trèves in 883) In, Iunctus (sometimes), Ihs the symbol (sometimes). But not *huius*.

(Dom.) 134 Gospels (partly Insular half-uncial, partly uncial) In, Iudaeus. But not *huius*.

Troyes 657 Cassiodorus (written at Flavigny, "saec. viii ex.", by many scribes) None. (see above, Autun 20[A]).

Vercelli 148 Gregorii Homiliae ("saec. ix"; by more than one scribe) In. Iam, Igitur. But not *eius*, *ille*.

Wolfenbuettel, August. O 67.5 Annales Guelferbytani (written in 813) In. But not *ibi*.

Helmsted. 496[a] Augustini Opuscula (Anglosaxon minuscule: "saec. ix") In (sometimes). But not *iam*, *eius*, *ignis*.

Helmstedt. 513 Lex Alamannorum ("saec. viii") In, Iam, eIus, Ille.

Weissenburg 64 Isidori Etymologiae (N. Italian cursive of Bobbio: "saec. viii in."; by more than one scribe) In, Iam, huIus, Igitur. But not *ille*.

Weissenburg. 81 Martyrologium (written in 772), In, IeIuno.

Weissenburg. 86 Pompeius Grammaticus, etc. ("saec. viii"; by more than one scribe) In, Iam, cuIus, deInde. But not *ipse*.

Weissenburg. 97 Lex Salica; Breviarium Alaricianum ("saec. viii"; by more than one scribe) In. But not *ille*.

Weissenburg. 99 Augustini Homiliae (Merovingian minuscule, of "saec. vii-viii", by more than one scribe) In, Iam, deInde, Ille (often).

Wuerzburg, theol. F 12 S. Pauli Epistolae (Irish minuscule of "saec. viii in.") In, Iam, Ita.

theol. F 27 Origenis Homiliae (partly Insular half-uncial, partly minuscule; by many scribes) None.

theol. F 67 Gospels (uncial or large minuscule; "saec. viii") None.

theol. F 69 Epistolae S. Pauli (Anglosaxon large minuscule; "saec. viii in."; by more than one scribe In.

theol. O 1 Caesarius part in minuscule with no Insular trait, part in Anglosaxon minuscule) None (except sometimes *i* longior in *in*).

Zürich, C 12 Psalter (from St Gall; "saec. ix in.") None.

140 Hieronymi Epistolae, etc. (from Rheinau; "saec. viii") In, aIt, eIus. But not *ipse*.

In this list I have omitted MSS. in the Corbie ab-type and (usually) those in Visigothic and Beneventan minuscule. (On their practice see Loew l. c.).

VI. — Transmission of Texts.

Those classical scholars who occupy themselves with what is called 'feet on the hob' emendation have a poor opinion of the extant MSS. They sit by the fire with Virgil in one hand and a pencil in the other and jot down in the margin any alteration of a word or line which caprice suggests. When this marginal litter has accumulated they send it, under the misleading title 'Emendations', to an indulgent magazine-editor. If any one thinks it worth while to censure them, they justify their action by some argument like this: 'The transmission of Latin texts was wholly capricious and wholly ignorant: one can have no confidence that the traditional form of a passage was what the author wrote; the form in which we ourselves re-write the passage is just as likely to have been the author's form'.

No: the transmission of texts was not so capricious as Mr. Feet-on-the-hob's 'emendations' nor so ignorant as his justification of them. It followed (or tried to follow) the great Law of Eugenics, to breed from the best types, to transcribe the standard exemplar. Sometimes pedigree-record is preserved: CODEX ARCHETYPUS AD CUIUS EXEMPLARIA SUNT RELIQUI CORRIGENDI (the Bamberg Cassiodore); PEREMENDAVI UT POTUI SECUNDUM CODICEM DE BIBLIOTHECA EUGIPPI (the Codex Epternacensis); ISTE CODEX EST SCRIPTUS DE ILLO AUTHENTICO QUEM DOMNUS ADRIANUS APOSTOLICUS DEDIT GLORIOSISSIMO CAROLO REGI FRANCORUM ET LANGOBARDORUM AC PATRICIO ROMANORUM QUANDO FUIT ROMAE (the Würzburg Canons); EX AUTENTICO LIBRO BIBLIOTECAE CUBICULI SCRIPTUM (in an Oxford and a Frankfort MS. of the Gregorian Sacramentary). Though none of our MSS. of Paulus Diaconus' De Significatione Verborum have (or retain) any such entry on a fly-leaf, those which shew (as most of the earlier MSS. do) the same form (square quarto, with two columns to the page etc.) may, I think, be called direct descendants of the author's copy (whose form they, imitate).

A pedigree MS. of (say) the eleventh century can hold its own with a papyrus (say) a thousand years older, because the papyrus page, picked up from the refuse-heap in an Egyptian village, is a page of a carelessly written, cheap copy,

whereas the vellum text can boast a descent, stage by stage, from some standard edition of still earlier date than the papyrus. The ancient uncial MSS. of the classical Latin writers were brought out, by Charlemagne's order, from the shelves of some great library (Fleury, Lyons, etc.) where they had lain safely during the Dark Ages, and were multiplied in beautiful minuscule transcripts; and the Carolingian transcripts were again rescued from neglect by the Italian Humanists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These uncial texts themselves would be standard texts, directly transcribed (or carefully corrected) from some standard ancient edition. Once we can reproduce the uncial text which was discovered in Charlemagne's time (and subsequently lost) we find little to correct. Of course, even printed texts cannot wholly avoid error, and written texts lacked the regularity of printing. Emendation cannot be dispensed with. But the difficulty of emending a Carolingian MS. is slight; it is the Renaissance texts, altered by the caprice of emendators, which, in the absence of earlier MS. evidence, offer the hardest problem. It is the fashion to abuse medieval scribes; but what of the iniquity of Renaissance editors? Of later editors? Take Scaliger, the prince of them all. Virgil in his studentdays had often talked with his fellow-student Tucca (afterwards Virgil's literary executor) of a face that caught his fancy. The lady, after a long absence, returns to her house and Virgil writes to Tucca (Catalepta 1).

> *De qua saepe tibi* venit, sed, Tucca videre
> Non licet : occulitur limine clausa viri.
> De qua saepe tibi non venit adhuc mihi, namque
> Si occulitur, longe est tangere quod nequeas, etc.

Surely the phrase *de qua saepe tibi* (scil. locutus sum) might be left in peace. But nothing is safe from the emendator. Scaliger (and therefore every other editor) 'emends' to *Delia saepe tibi* (And what does *tibi* mean?).

When Burns' Poems are published nowadays the editor does not take at random some badly printed copy, a pirated or a cheap edition perhaps of Burns' own time. He follows the standard edition. So in ancient and medieval times. Cicero's Speeches may have been hawked in the streets of Rome,

in Cicero's own age, in a very inaccurate form of text. But that was not the text which would be transmitted to subsequent ages. It would be some standard edition (say) by Tiro. That edition would be available, in a public library at Rome, for future transcripts. From the public libraries of Pagan Rome these standard texts would pass into the great Church Libraries. Thus the good stock was transmitted; the bad went to limbo. If Beer's theory be right (and it has been praised by bepraised men) Cassiodore's wonderful library was acquired by Columban for Bobbio and has provided these palimpsests which Mai recovered for us. Their fly-leaves, which might contain their pedigree-record, have been lost.

And a new task devolves on the twentieth-century editor, to investigate the ancient editions of Latin authors. A nineteenth-century editor was satisfied with the classification of MSS. in families: we must henceforth see whether these families reflect ancient editions. Sometimes clear record of this remains; e. g. the Italian family of MSS. of Martial reflects an edition made by Torquatus Gennadius in the year 401 (See my 'Ancient Editions of Martial' and 'The Year's Work in Classical Studies' 1906, section XVII). Good fortune has kept apart this thread and, I think, the other two threads of the Martial-tradition. There has not been any intertwining. And so the modern emendators (and there are plenty of them) who venture to alter a reading found in all three families of MSS. are defying the consensus of no less than three ancient editions of Martial. They cannot (or will not) see that the condition of these poems differs from the condition of poems which survived the Dark Ages in a single MS. only.

The best treatment of the Transmission of Ancient Texts to modern times will be found in Traube's Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters (chap. III Ueberlieferungsgeschichte).

(*To be continued*)

EIN BASLER FRAGMENT DES NORDFRANZOESISCHEN AZ-TYPUS.

VON PAUL LEHMANN, MUENCHEN.

Wenn seit 1907 Paläographen und Kunsthistoriker zu mir kamen, um L. Traubes für einen einzelnen Gelehrten sehr grosse und erlesene Sammlung von Handschriftenphotographien zu benutzen, dann verlangten sie fast immer mit besonderer Lebhaftigkeit die Mappe « Typen ». Das ist bezeichnend und erfreulich. Denn in ihr sind Proben vor- und frühkarolingischen Minuskel vereinigt, die man noch vor wenigen Jahrzehnten als « merovingisch » kurz und mit einer Art von Verachtung abtun zu dürfen meinte. Erst L. Delisle und dann namentlich L. Traube, der nach seinen Aufzeichnungen schon 1900, wahrscheinlich sogar früher « Typen » unterschieden und benannt hat, schliesslich des grossen Münchner Forschers Spuren folgend andere haben begonnen in der « merovingischen » Schrift eine wegen ihrer Bedeutung für die karolingische Paläographie und Kunstgeschichte dringend erforschenswerte Schriftfülle näher ins Auge zu fassen und zu gruppieren. Wir stehen bei der Bewältigung der vorkarolingischen Minuskel immer noch am Anfang. Aber man sieht doch bereits dass eine sehr kräftige Entwicklungslinie von der Luxeuilschule über Corbie führt. Als eigentliche Corbieschrift des 8-9 Jahrhunderts ist uns jener Minuskeltype bekannt, der charakterisiert wird durch die Formen von *a* und *b*, der ab-Typ von Corbie (vgl. Lindsay, Revue des bibliothèques, XXII [1912] pp. 405-429).

Mit Corbie hängt fernerhin irgendwie der az-Typ zusammen. Ueber ihn hat 1914 in der Revue des bibliothèques ([1]) Lindsay gehandelt. Den Buchschmuck dieser Handschriftengruppe wie des ab-Typs hat, ohne Lindsays noch vor dem Kriege erschienenen Aufsatz zu kennen, 1916 E. H. Zimmer-

([1]) XXIV 15-27 « The Laon az-Type », mit 2 Tafeln nach Laon 137 und 423.

mann ([1]) vorgeführt. Ihre Untersuchungen zu stützen und zu ergänzen dient meine Miscelle.

Beide Forscher kannten — wie übrigens auch schon Traube — 5 Handschriften des az-Typus in Cambridge, Laon, London und Paris. Nun kommt als no. 6 ein Stück der Universitätsbibliothek Basel hinzu, das ich im April 1922 an Ort und Stelle sah, später dank dem Entegegenkommen von Basel und München im Sommer dieses Jahres in München selbst prüfen durfte. Es galt bisher für angelsächsisch, da Konrad Escher es 1917 öffentlich so genannt hat (« Die Miniaturen in den Basler Biblioteken, Museen und Archiven », Basel, 1917, S. 29). Aber diese Bezeichnung ist durchaus nicht zutreffend, wie die ganze Beschreibung des Schweizer Kunsthistorikers an Irrtümern und Flüchtigkeiten reich ist. Könnte man vielleicht, und nur sehr vielleicht, in den Initialen einen schwachen insularen Einfluss spüren, die Schrift ist völlig französisch. Für den Kenner wird ein Blick auf die Tafel ([2]) genügen, um jeden Gedanken an Ursprung des Codex von England-Irland oder einer insularen Kolonie des Festlands zu verscheuchen.

Zur Kennzeichnung der Schrift hat Lindsay wohl alles Erforderliche gesagt. Es handelt sich um einen kalligraphischen Versuch, bei dem noch viele Ueberreste der Kursive in einzelnen Buchstaben und in Ligaturen geblieben sind. Auffällig ist erstens das aus zwei nach rechts offenen Winkeln gebildete *a* und das hochragende *z* (s. Palae. Lat. i Taf. I, no. 81). Da *z* nur selten in lateinischen Werken vorkommt, erscheint es auch auf den Basler Blättern nich oft, wenn ich recht zugesehen nur dreimal (f. 11RB, 16RB, 18RA), und zwar in zwei Formen. Die früher veröffentlichten Proben des Typs gaben kein Beispiel der z-Form. Man vermisst auf ihnen ferner eine bizarre Variante des *a*, die den von Lindsay besprochenen Handschriften freilich nicht fehlt, auf den Basler Bruchstücken jedoch ziemlich haüfig, wiewohl seltener als die typische Form, allein und in Ligaturen auftritt (s. Taf. col. ii l. I ' temper*an*tiae '), eine Variante, die Lindsay (p. 21) nicht übel mit einer dicken von einem schmalen Ast herabhängenden Birne verg-

([1]) Vorkarolingische Miniaturen. Berlin, 1916, S. 85 ff., 222, ff., Tafel 144-149.

([2]) Plate I bietet fol 8^R in geringfügiger Verkleinerung : 22 × 28 statt 25,4 × 31 cm.

leicht. Wir verschweigen nicht, dass dieses oder ein ähnliches *a* (das « Merovingische unciale *a* », Palae. Lat. i, Taf. I 23) auch sonst in vorkarolingischer französischer Minuskel begegnet ebenso wie die übrigen etwas ungewöhnlichen Buchstaben: das steile *d* mit dem unter die Grundlinie gehenden und dort ein wenig eingeknickten Schaft; unbeholfene offene *e*; die zahlreichen Ligaturen im Anschluss an *c*, *e*, *g*, *r*, *t* u. a. Typisch, obwohl nicht auf die az-Gruppe beschränkt, ist das hakenförmige, übergeschriebene *u*, das nach *q* steht und sich mit den folgenden Buchstaben verbindet, die Unterscheidung zweier Ligaturen *ti* vor Vokalen oder vor Konsonanten bez. am Schluss. Auch in den Abkürzungen trifft man nichts von Lindsays Liste Abweichendes. Die einzige, nach Lindsay dem Typ eigenartige Abkürzung 'in' (*i* longa mit Querstrich) fand ich zweimal (f. 13RA u.^{RB}), von 'vel' dadurch unterschieden, dass der Querstrich wagerecht, bei 'vel' schräg gestellt ist. Nicht selten ist zur Bezeichnung von Textlücken und Ergänzungen *h* (mit Querstrich) am Rande oder zwischen den Zeilen bei der Lücke sowie vor und nach der Ergänzung gebraucht.

Alles in allem passen die Basler Fragmente trefflich in Lindsays Gruppe, und zwar stehen sie am allernächsten Lindsays D. Das gilt auch für den Buchschmuck. Man trifft kleine, meistens umtüpfelte Initialen, die gern an den Enden Tierköpfe zeigen und mit den Proben aus D bei Bastard (pl. 29 rechts) fast ganz übereinstimmen, ferner grosse Initialen, in verschiedenen Farben aus hundeähnlichen Tieren, Hirschen und Schlangen gebildet. Besonders zu verweisen ist auf den das *I* vorstellenden springenden Hirsch (f. 1VA); auf das *Q* (f. 2RA), bei dem ein nach links schreitender Hund als Schweif des *Q* die O-Rundung auf dem Kopfe trägt (wie bei Bastard pl. 29!); auf den stehenden nach rechts gerichteten F-Hund (f. 7RB), der mit dem *E* bei Bastard grosse Aehnlichkeit hat; auf das *M* (f. 14VB), das aus zwei aufrecht stehenden, einander zugewandten und sich die Vorderpfoten gebenden schlanken Hunden geformt ist.

Die Basler Handschrift ist, nach dem Graphischen und dem Bildlichen zu urteilen, wenn nicht von denselben Schreibern und Malern so zum mindesten am selben Ort ziemlich zur gleichen Zeit wie D geschaffen, d. h. wohl um 770 in Nordfrankreich.

Das zur Zeit in Band III der Fragmentensammlung in der Univ.-Bibl. Basel aufbewahrte Stück besteht aus 23 Pergam.-Bll. verschiedener Grösse (f. 1.2 : 23,7 × 30,9 cm.; 3 : 24,4 × 31,6 cm.; 4,5 : 23,4 × 30,9 cm.; 6 : 23,9 × 31,7 cm.; 7 : 24,9 × 31,2 cm.; 8: 25,4 × 31; 9—23: 26 × 38,8 oder 38,7 oder 38 cm.). Die vollständig unversehrten Bll. werden ungefähr 26 × 39 cm. gross gewesen sein. Die letzte Beschädigung erfolgte wohl, als die Blätter, die heute erhalten sind um 1600 beim Einband mehrerer Bände mit Disputationen u. a. Werken des Jenenser Juristen Leopold Hackelmann († 1619) gebraucht wurden. Damals schrieb man rücksichtslos auf die Seiten die Jahreszahlen 1586 1596. Im Jahre 1880 gelangten die Blätter als Geschenk des Basler Staatsarchivs in die Bibliothek. Die Schrift ist auf 2 Kolumnen von zumeist 37 Zeilen — nicht, wie Escher behauptet, auf 1 Kol. mit 47 Zeilen — verteilt (Schriftspiegel der einzelnen Kolumne etwa 9,5 × 32 cm.). Textlich bieten die Blätter Augustinus de civitate Dei lib. II c. 28—III 1; III c. 13-14, 19-31; V c. 2-5, 19-22; VI c. 10—VII c. 1; IX c. 13—X c. 7; X c. 11-32; XI c. 21-23. Haüfig sind durch Beschneiden vonseiten des Buchbinders mehrere Textzeilen verloren gegangen. Die von mir angefertigte genaue Inhaltsangabe gehört wohl nicht in diese paläographische Zeitschrift. Ich möchte nur bemerken, dass f. 23 der jetzigen Folüerung mit lib. VI c. 10—VII 1 zwischen f. 8 und 9 liegen müsste, und dass f. 21 und 22 offenbar ursprünglich (mit lib. X c. 32 u. XI c. 21-23) das erste und das letzte Blatt der f. 22v unten bezeichneten Lage XIIII gewesen sind.

Durch genaue Kollation mit der kritischen Ausgabe E. Hoffmanns habe ich festgestellt, dass die Handschrift, die einstmals ein Prachtexemplar gewesen sein muss, höchstwahrscheinlich die unmittelbare Kopie des für die Textkritik von Augustinus de civ. Dei sehr bedeutsamen Parisinus lat. 12214, einem Halbuncialcodex des 7 Jahrhunderts ist. Das ist keine belanglose Ermittelung. Denn einmal ist es immer lehrreich, Vorlage und Abschrift zu beobachten, zweitens erhält CORBIE eine verstärkte Wichtigkeit für die geschichtliche Einordnung des az-Typs. Stammt doch die Vorlage unserer Basler Bruchsstücke, Paris lat. 12214, aus Corbie (1), ebenfalls dorther Paris

(1) Von Cambridge C.C.C. 333 behauptet M. R. James, A descr. catalogue of the MSS. in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, II

lat. 12168, welcher Codex uns aber mit der Sigl D als nächster Verwandter der Basler Blätter begegnet ist. Man beachte auch dass die beiden sich so ähnlichen Handschriften des az-Typs. Basel und Paris lat. 12168 Augustinwerke enthalten (De civitate Dei u. Quaestiones in heptateuchum). Ob der Typus in Corbie zu Hause war oder etwa in Laon (vgl. Laon MS. 137 u. 423), wo vielleicht eine bestimmte Schreibergruppe Codices Corbeienses kopierte, lässt sich noch nicht ausmachen.

(1911) p. 163 keineswegs, wie Zimmermann, Vorkarol. Miniaturen S. 226 glauben macht, bestimmt Herkunft aus der Corbier Bibliothek, sondern er sagt sehr richtig und vorsichtig: « Very problably this book came from the same place as no. 193 (? Corbie). A note in the catalogue gives Dr. Traube's opinion that it is French, probably Northern ».

BERNE 207.

BY W. M. LINDSAY.

An article by Prof. E. K. Rand (in the Philological Quarterly I p. 258), 'A Vade Mecum of Liberal Culture in a MS. of Fleury', gives one something of the thrill which Traube's fascinating articles used to give, and prompts me to publish some notes on this MS. which I wrote recently at Berne. (Plates II and III shew its strange script). Rand associates it with the Leyden MS., Voss. Q 86. and a MS. mentioned in the twelfth century catalogue of Cluny. The three, he thinks lead us to a 'chrestomathy and compendium of liberal culture' used by students at Fleury, and constructed on lines suggested by extracts from Isidore's Etymologiae.

The contents of the Cluny MS. (which Peiper identified with the Leyden MS.) were: Iuvencus, Sedulius, Arator, Prosper, quoddam metrum Tertuliani, Cato, Avianus, quedam diverse collectiones versuum diversorum actorum (*leg.* auct.), libri Archini (*leg.* Alcimi) episcopi, ars Isīdori de grammatica et de disciplinis aliarum artium. Rand thus describes the Leyden MS.; (159 pages lost at the beginning, enough to hold Juvencus and Sedulius' Paschale Carmen), Arator, Prosper, the little epics on Jonah and Sodom, the two hymns of Sedulius, the Disticha Catonis, Avianus, selections from the Anthology, selections from Martial, Avitus, part of Isidore's chapter on grammar from his Etymologies; the end of the MS. is lost. From Hagen's account (in Anecdota Helvetica) of the contents of Berne 207, Rand finds that its Isidore extracts correspond with the Isidore extracts (so far as these go) in the Leyden MS.

What is the history of the Corpus Grammaticorum in the Berne MS.? My notes cannot solve the problem, but I publish them in the hope that they may lighten the labour of any future researcher. Curiously enough, they ended with a use of Rand's actual phrase 'Vade Mecum'. Here is the last sentence: The Donatus pages are much worn and were glossed at Fleury, where they seem to have been a class-book; the Petrus pages too (with the schoolgrammar of Peter of Pisa)

have many later marginalia; that the codex was a 'vade mecum' for the monastery-school where it was written is shewn by the miscellaneous Isidore extracts.

What took me recently to the Berne MS. (formerly in Fleury Library) was its Julianus Toletanus portion. The forthcoming edition of the Liber Glossarum required the publication of Julian's account of rhetorical faults and figures. That publication (= St Andrews University Publications, n°. XV) shews the MS. used by the compiler of the Liber Glossarum and the three (known) extant MSS. (at Rome, at Erfurt, at Berne) to have a common archetype (with *vermibus* for *Vergilius* at VI 21). And that this archetype was a MS. in Visigothic script was proved by the numerous and varied 'Spanish symptoms' in all four. Goetz had contended that the Liber Glossarum was compiled in Spain and had used its Julian items in support of this contention. But Goetz had not noticed that a great source of the Liber Glossarum, the Abstrusa Glossary (in its full, original form), was a glossary based on Adamnan's Virgil Scholia; nor yet that the earliest MSS. of the Liber Glossarum are all in the Corbie ab-script (which suggests that it was compiled in Corbie). The Julian portion of the Berne Corpus Grammaticorum we may refer to a MS. in Visigothic script (and this script was in vogue not merely in Spain but in parts of France), the same MS. from which a transcript was made at Lorsch (now in the Vatican Library) and another (perhaps) at Erfurt or in the Erfurt segion.

Since the contents of Berne 207 have been detailed by Hagen (first in Anecdota Helvetica then in the Berne Catalogue), I limit myself to the clues to its history. (Notice Morelli's attribution to 'Maximus Victorinus' = Keil VI 229, not to Servius, of foll. 11^{v}-12^{v}. And foll 127^{v}, middle to 129^{v} are a later addition in Fleury minuscule). The title of the volume, in coloured capitals (fol. 1^{r}), I read as rude dactylic hexameters:

Auctorum curavi adfigere nomina horum
Huic libello quem nimio sudore conpegi:
Donati, Asperi, Prisciani, Sergii, Probi,
Isidori sophi, Bedae, Petrique, Martis Eruli.

I am inclined to think that the closing blunder, MARTIS ERULI for MARII SERUII, should be charged to the compiler who misread the majuscule heading in a MS. of this grammarian (cf. fol. 77^v Incipit Martis Eruli grammatica). But I do not insist; for a versifier who ended a hexameter with *Sergii Probi* was perhaps capable of finding a dactyl and spondee in *Marii Servii*. The order of the grammarians' names in this title does not correspond with their order in the Corpus itself, a transposition due to metrical necessity. The Bede postion is missing.

This title has been misplaced by a modern binder. Before this leaf we must place the two leaves which now follow it. (Or did they stand elsewhere, in a missing part?). They contain characteristic Insular lore: a variety of alphabets (along with Bede's account of finger-speech). These alphabets (Greek, Hebrew, Runic, etc,) might repay a more careful study than I had time for. N°. 4 is Aethicus Ister's alphabet: alamoi, becab, etc., the letterforms not very different from the mere fantastic script affected by Insular calligraphists in colophons, etc. a script used in this Corpus (e. g. fol. 81^v) to embellish title-headings. (Indeed the very pains taken throughout with the embellishment of the script of mere grammatical extracts, the red colouring, the dog-head initials, etc., suggest Celtic work; since the veneration of Latin Grammars was a Celtic failing). N°. 5 is the Ogam alphabet; but since the essential feature of Ogam (the distinction of letters (1) above the line (2) below the line (3) transected by the line) has been lost, the scribe clearly copied an exemplar which he did not understand (whereas the corrector of the St Gall Priscian writes the equivalent of 'contuli' on p. 196 in good Ogam). This leads us to Ireland. And there are Irish glosses on foll. 146^v and 148^r (if elsewhere, I overlooked them) in the scribe's handwriting (I think), and (perhaps) therefore from the exemplar (but when when added to the exemplar, who can say?) e. g. amre 'wonderful' (over *papae)*. These pages belong to the portion with Servius' (Sergius') adaptation of Donatus.

The same portion (e. g. 143^r, 144^v, 145^v) shews omission-symbols which (see Revue Bibliothèques XXIV p. 18) point to the Continent rather than Ireland and have their chief home in Italy; *h d* (in text) and *h p* (in margin). In the head-

line of the next portion (fol. 148r), the Petrus portion, DR 'dicitur' has been miscopied DN (see Anecd. Helv. p. xxx).

The MS. has, I think, been written by two scribes (exemplified in the two plates appended to this article), both of whom use the same type of script. And what shall we call it? I have wavered between Continental-Irish, Welsh, Breton, but finally acquiesced (with no complete confidence) in Continental-Irish. The abbreviations, of which a list will he found on p. 64 of my Early Irish Minuscule Script, suit the Irish type (e. g. the absence of a symbol of *saeculum*), but cannot be said to demand it.

When I published these abbreviations (in 1910), I had the idea that this MS. preserved some Irish abbreviations which earlier Irish MSS. had lost especially the monogram-signs of *nihil* and *nisi*. But subsequently I found at Rome a Lorsch grammatical MS. of the beginning of the ninth century, a transcript of an uncial exemplar, with the unfamiliar syllabic suspensions faithfully reproduced by the transcriber (see my Notae Latinae p. XIV; but delete the remark on *potius*). And the use of these Ancient Notae (e. g. the *nihil* and *nisi* monograms) in Grammars (as well as in Law-books) is confirmed by other relics of them in grammatical transcripts (see my article 'Ancient Notae and Latin Texts' in the Classical Quarterly XI [1917] 38). Therefore these unusual symbols in Berne 207 may be symbols of the exemplar, rather than current symbols of the transcriber.

If so, this Corpus Grammaticorum was made with the help of ancient MSS. (or one MS. collection) of the older Grammarians here exhibited, i. e. at some great library (Bobbio? Fleury?). The Isidore extracts share these Ancient Notae (e. g. the *nisi* monogram frequently; the *nihil* monogram on fol. 187v). So does the Julian portion (e. g. the *nihil* and *nisi* monograms frequently), but not Peter of Pisa (the *hr* 'horum', *nm* 'nomen' in his pages may be mere technical curtailments). As to the date of the Berne MS. or an exemplar, I doubt the wisdom of an appeal to the red smudge in the margin at the year 792 of the Paschal Cycle. It looks like an impress from the paint on the next page. Though the scribe abbreviates 'nostri', etc. by the three letters *nri*, his exemplar had the

older two-letter symbol, as we see from relapses like (157^v paradigm of 'noster' in the Petrus portion) *nr ni no nrm.*

Lastly, it should be mentioned that Greek letters are transcribed with very fair accuracy (another Irish feature?). And that the suprascript letters here and there seem to me to be aids to the student: e. g. 134^r (*ieiuno, oro, vigilo*) the *n* over the first and third verb I interpret 'neutrum', the *a* over the second I interpret 'activum'; 138^v (*et, que, at, atque, ac, est*) the *p* over the last four I interpret as 'prima', i. e. first word in sentence, and think the *s* over *et* should stand over *que*, 'secunda', i. e. second word in sentence.

Recently (Palae. Lat. I 65) I published the warning: Let the palaeographer amass details and avoid rash inference. But, after all, it is well that one who has examined a MS. should state (tentatively and with acknowledgement of the fallibility of hasty impressions) what impression the MS. has made on his mind. For there is a vast difference between seeing Berne 207 for one self and merely reading Hagen's account of it. (The Berne Catalogue omits to state that on fol. 138^v, there is a later entry in the bottom margin: hic liber sancti Benedicti Floriacensis. It is this entry, and this alone, which tells us that the MS. once belonged to Fleury Library). The ornamental nature of this Corpus Grammaticorum gave me the impression that it was the compiler's own copy, written under his direction by two skilled penmen. The compiler, whose 'Martis Eruli' bids us write him down with Dogberry, makes display of his Greek learning with his 'Isidori sophi', quite in the style of the ninth century Greek teacher (such as Martin the Irishman who taught Greek at Laon). If stress were to be laid on his claim 'multo sudore compegi', we might believe him to have hunted up grammatical MSS. from all quarters as diligently as Lupus of Ferrières, but it is more likely that he got all of them in Fleury Library; unless indeed the phrase is a mere tag to complete the line. The collection was a text-book for his lectures, and does him credit. It (or part of it) was subsequently used as a class-book at Fleury. But whether it was made originally at and for Fleury is a question which can hardly be settled until some other specimen of this peculiar script turns up. Will those who visit libraries please look out for it.

THE LYONS SCRIPTORIUM.

BY THE LATE S. TAFEL.

[Dr. Tafel, one of Traube's pupils, who fell in the war, was engaged on a history of the Lyons Scriptorium. His large collection of papers and photographs has been placed in my hands. To print even a part of them as they stand would be a mistake. The best way to rescue from the wreck what will help the progress of Palaeography is to write in my own words whait I conceive to be Dr. Tafel's arguments and conclusions. After a visit to Lyons I hope to publish more: meanwhile I offer this small selection to my readers. ED.].

I. — The Cathedral Library.

The larger (early) medieval libraries preserved for us MSS. of the ancient world, Pagan and Christian. And they provided material for students within their own walls or in the surrounding region. So we must ask two questions: What ancient MSS. were preserved at Lyons? What learned research was carried on in medieval times there and in that region?

Look at the map and you can guess what Lyons' work in the transmission of culture would be. At Lyons the Rhone and the Saône join, and the two make a long channel of communication from South to North, from the Mediterranean to the heart of the Continent. Lyons, at the middle of this water-way, was by its very position destined to be the transmitter of the learning of Spain and Italy to France and Germany.

The Roman colony Lugdunum, the centre of that culture of Southern Gaul so strongly influenced by the culture of Greece and the East, was in the early Empire the chief town of Gallia. From the fourth century it had to yield to Trèves and Arles, but yet retained much of its old preeminence. The first important Christian community of Gaul was sheltered

within its walls; and the fame of its martyrs spread far and wide. Although its Archbishop had authority over a limited region only, it seems to have increased its power in the seventh century, for not a few Merovingian Vitae Sanctorum call it 'caput Galliae'. In the fifth and sixth centuries, from about 470 to 534, it was the capital of Burgundy and the residence of the Burgundian kings; even later, in the vicissitudes of stirring times, it may have regained this position more than once. But the eighth century was a time of decadence for Lyons as for the rest of Gaul, and in 732 the town was plundered by the Saracens. Finally, however, at the close of that century, it shared in the prosperity of the Carolingian epoch and once more became a leading city.

Thus, in all its ups and downs, there was no complete upheaval, nothing to put an abrupt stop to the continuity of its culture. Under the Roman Empire it was a Roman-Hellenic centre; and Greek, no doubt, kept a footing there for many centuries. Its famous Rhetoric-schools still flourished in the fifth century, as we see from the letters of Sidonius Apollinaris; and in the beginning of the sixth century a rhetor of Lyons could correct a grammatical error of the bishop of Vienne (cf. Alcimus Avitus 'Epistulae' in Mon. Germ. VI² xx). How these Rhetoric-schools passed into the Church-schools we cannot say, but the secular element in its teaching is emphasized in the famous panegyric of Lyons by Heiric of Auxerre (Mon. Germ. Epist. VI 124): ibi quas dicunt disciplinarum liberalium peritia, quasque ordine currere hoc tempore fabula tantum est, eo usque convaluit ut, quantum ad scholas, publicum appellaretur citramarini orbis gymnasium. Heiric is speaking of the latter part of the fifth century, the time of Constantius of Lyons, his predecessor in the biography of St Germanus of Auxerre. His words shew at least the belief, current in his time, that Lyons was a great transmitter of ancient culture. In the seventh century, under Bishop Dalfinus (alias Annemundus), Wilfrid, subsequently Archbishop of York, studied for three years there 'et a doctoribus valde eruditis multa didicit'. (Was one of the 'doctores' that 'grammaticus anonymus' mentioned in my next paragraph?). The first care of the reformer of the Lyons Church in Charlemagne's time, Archbishop Leidrad, was the restoration of

the Church-schools (see his letter to Charlemagne in Mon. Germ. IV 5 39).

I need not enumerate the earlier literary celebrities, Pagan and Christian, of Lyons and that whole region: the Syagrii, Sidonius Apollinaris, Eucherius and the rest. They are treated in P. de Colonia 'Histoire littéraire de la ville de Lyon' (2 vols., Lyons, 1728); in the earlier volumes of the Benedictines' 'Histoire littéraire de la France'; in M. de la Saussure 'Les six premiers siècles littéraires de la ville de Lyon', Lyons and Paris, 1876; partly too in the Mémoires de l'Académie de Lyon, Classe des Lettres, 1858-61. I will only mention that Lyons seems to have been the centre of that great juristic labour which produced the Lex Romana Burgundionum; and it is Lyons' library which has preserved for us a great part of Roman juristic literature. Also that there appears to have been at Lyons a succession of hagiographers from Constantius and Eucherius on to the ninth century. But I would call the reader's attention to Peiper's very convincing argument (Jahrb. klass. Phil., Suppl. XI 297) that a small grammatical treatise which conserves ancient tradition was written at Lyons, the 'De dubiis nominibus' (Keil, Gramm. lat. V 571). It deals with the gender of nouns, illustrated by quotations, and enables us to recover much of that important grammar of the second century, Caper's De dubiis generibus.

The ninth century is justly called by P. de Colonia the 'âge d'or' of Lyons literature. We find a band of learned writers working in harmony for the defence of true religion. First in time Archbishop Leidrad, the reformer of the Lyons Church, author of opuscula and of letters to Charlemagne, 798-814. First in importance his successor in the bishopric, Agobard (814-840), one of the leading figures of the ninth century, a voluminous writer of extraordinary learning. With him worked the erudite deacon Florus, the famous antagonist of Johannes Scotus and of Amalar. Florus was equally loyal to Agobard's successors, Archbishop Amolo (840-852) and Remigius (852-875), aiding them in their literary war against the Jews and Godescalc's Predestination-theories. The works of these four authors will be found in these volumes of Migne's Patrologia latina: Agobard, vol. 104, p. 29; Florus, vol. 119, p. 11; Amolo, vol. 116, p. 77; Remigius, vol. 121, p. 985.

Their letters, in Mon. Germ. Epist.; the poems of Florus in Mon. Germ. Poet. II 506. In all probability they were the teachers and inspirers of not a few of the Carolingian theologians and literary writers. And a large colony of Spaniards, driven out by the Saracen invasion, seems to have settled at Lyons, e. g. Felix of Urgel and his pupil Claudius, subsequently bishop of Turin.

We may take it that the treasures of the Lyons library provided material for much of the ninth century literature, so copious in citation of the early Christian authors. That a man's learned writing depends upon his reading is a truth that was truer in the ninth century than it is now. At that revival of learning it was the contents of a cathedral library which made the literary work of the region possible and guided it this way or that. That is how we should view the Lyons MSS. And we should try to make these silent witnesses of the Carolingian literary activity yield to us their secrets: 'This was the volume from which Agobard drew ammunition for the good fight against heresy; these marginal entries came from the pen of Florus in his hours of study'.

Cathedral libraries 'habent sua fata'. Three were fortunate: Lyons, Verona, Würzburg. Their treasures were to a wonderful extent preserved at the original home. True; we dare not assume that each and every one of their ancient MSS. was actually written in the home scriptorium. Verona, as Beer has convincingly shewed (Die Handschriftenbestand von Bobbio, in the Anzeiger der K. K. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, 1911, p. 89), took from Bobbio some old MSS. which Bobbio in its turn had taken from Cassiodore's famous library at Vivarium. Still these immigrants, transcribed in the Verona scriptorium, studied by successive generations of Verona ecclesiastics, became to all intent Veronese. Whether palaeo graphic investigation will enable us to discriminate the autochthones from the advenae in the twelve uncial and half-uncial MSS. now in the Lyons library remains to be seen. At any rate we have little difficulty in connecting each of them with the learned work of Lyons in the ninth century. And from an intelligent survey of that learned work we can reasonably infer the presence there of other ancient MSS., since lost or strayed.

So the ninth century must be our point of departure. To investigate the earlier and the later history of the Lyons library we must first try to reconstruct in imagination the library's contents in Leidrad's time.

II. — The Library of Ile Barbe.

At the eve of the great Revolution of 1789 there were in Lyons, beside the Cathedral-library, a fair number of other church-libraries. Many of them, were possibly very old, such as the libraries of St Just, St Irénée (from which in the sixteenth century Th. Beza took that Graeco-latinus codex of the Gospels called the ' codex Bezae ', and perhaps the codex Claromontanus of the Pauline Epistles), St Paul, St Martin d'Ainay. Many of them may at the time have owned old MSS. To a previous period we may assign the dispersion of the library of a monastery in the vicinity of Lyons, on an island of the Saône, Ile Barbe, an ancient foundation (Insula Barbara) mentioned by Gregory of Tours.

In the late Middle Ages a legend arose regarding the Ile Barbe library and was, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, applied also to the older MSS. of the Cathedral, a quite false legend that Charlemagne's library was lodged at Ile Barbe under Leidrad's care. I find it first in Paradin's Mémoire sur l'histoire de Lyon, Lyons, 1573, p. 99. It is repeated by many writers of the following centuries, with this or that variation e. g. with the monastery-tradition of the presentation of a MS. of Dionysius Areopagita written by Charlemagne's own hand . Delandine, the first modern historian of the Lyons MSS. (Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Lyon I [1812], p. 2 actually identifies the older of them with the remains of this Ile Barbe library. The older, the more fragmentary a Lyons MS. is, the more unhesitatingly does he ascribe to it this provenance. He adds that Archbishop Antoine d'Albon, also Abbot of Ile Barbe, in the year 1562, after the plundering by the Calvinists, had the monastery MSS. conveyed to the Archives of his cathedral. This statement, for which I have been quite unable to discover the slightest authority, I believe to be a mere guess by Delandine.

Now the whole legend is based on a passage of the letter (Mon. Germ. Epist. IV 542) written by Leidrad, probably near the end (814) of his archbishopric., to Charlemagne. He makes a report to the emperor on his mission, the reform of the Lyons Church. He speaks of the monasteries in the town and the neighbourhood, and how he had restored them to order. The passage regarding Ile Barbe ran, in the imperfect version first published of the letter, so: Et *monasterium regale insulae Barbarae* situm in medio Araris flumine, quod antiquitus est dedicatum in honore sancti Andreae apostoli et omnium apostolorum, nunc autem in honore sancti Martini recens videtur esse fundatum *iussu domni Karoli imperatoris*, qui ibidem praefecit Benedictum abbatem, *cum quo simul direxit ibi suos codices*) ita restauravi ut tecta de novo fierent et aliqua ex maceriis a fundamentis erigerentur, ubi nunc monachi secundum regularem disciplinam numero nonaginta habitare videntur (Dümmler Mon. Germ.). The bracketed sentence, from *situm* (or from *nunc autem*) to *codices* betrays itself as a later interpolation by its introduction of Charlemagne (to whom the letter is addressed) in the third person. And we have actually a version, hitherto little known, of a part of the letter, without the interpolation. It is in the Rhone Archives at Lyons (Fonds de St Pierre) and is ascribed by M. C. Guigne to the thirteenth century. Though unluckily it was not visible at my visit, it has been printed by Guigne in the Cartulaire Lyonnais I (1885) p. 4, where the passage reads: Monasterium quoque (so *regale* too is probably interpolated) Insule Barbare situm, in honore sancti Martini dedicatum, ita restauravi... So the transcripts which have preserved Leidrad's letter for us appear to be the versions of different monasteries, the monasteries whose privileges or claims to fame are mentioned in it, and which therefore were interested in its preservation. And this interest interest explains these later interpolations. Will not some one collect all these versions and edit the letter once for all?). The Ile Barbe tradition is represented in the official transcript of the year 1447, a transcript preserved in the paper MS. Lyons 1488, with the above mentioned interpolation. This paper MS. was sought in vain by G. Morin (Revue Bénédictine IX [1892[339 and was not used by Dümmler. It shews

us that the forgery was as old as the fifteenth century, probably older.

Indeed the interpolated sentence itself is nothing more than the usual story, so common in monastery-chronicles, of a present of books by Charlemagne, and cannot be stretched to a transfer of Charlemagne's library. Details are given of his present to Ile Barbe in another report, a 'Fundatio ecclesiae et monasterii Insulae Barbarae', which Cl. Le Laboureur saw in a seventeenth century MS. and refused to believe (cf. Les Mazures de l'Abbaye royale de l'Ile Barbe, Paris, 1681, p. 5): Illud quidem Monasterium Carolus Imperator gloriosus summo dilexit amore, qui posuit illic abbatem nomine Benedictum, secundum carnis cognationem sibi propinquum; et misit tabulas eburneas miro opere sculptas atque politas et *libros, scilicet quatuor Evangelistarum expositiones*. Benedict, of course, is Benedict of Aniane. At Leidrad's request Ile Barbe received monks of Aniane, as is mentioned in Ardo's Vita Benedicti Anianensis (Mon. Germ. SS. XV 209). These monks would probably take Aniane MSS. (or transcripts of them) to Ile Barbe; so we have no reason to doubt a collection of MSS. at Ile Barbe. And the close relation of the Saône monastery with the Cathedral makes probable a certain amount of exchange of books. We know that in the first half of the sixteenth century three early MSS. were found at Ile Barbe. First, the famous MS. of Ausonius in Visigothic minuscule, which Sannazar found (with others, as his report suggests) in his visit to France in 1501 or 1502 It is now at Leyden, Voss. 111, but I have shewn [1] (Rhein. Mus. of 1914) that the first part is at Paris, lat. 8093. Next, J. de Gagny found there, before 1536, an old MS. now lost) of Cl. Marius Victor. His account (in his edition of 1536) shews that the monastery-library had already suffered: quum in Barbarensis insulae coenobium amici aliquot venissemus... incidit in manus nostras ex eius loci vetusta sed ante annos aliquot depeculata libraria poema doctum et elegans... Claudii Marii Victorii Massiliensis Oratoris titulo inscriptum. Finally, Abbot Antoine

[1] [It is unlucky that Dr. Tafel's discovery was not utilized for the recent Bordeaux facsimile of the Leyden Ausonius by Ville de Mirmont, Paris 1919). If a facsimile of the Paris leaves had been added, we should have the complete MS. ED.].

d'Albon (mentioned above) found, at some time before the religious wars, an old MS. of a Commentary on the Psalms, which he ascribed to Rufinus in his edition of 1596 (reprinted in Migne, P. L. 21, 633), but which has recently been claimed for Alcuin by H. Brewer (Innsbrucker Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol. 37 [1913] 668). This MS. too is lost.

These three MSS. may be referred to the ninth century. The Leyden Ausonius was certainly written then. A Commentary by Alcuin cannot be older. And Gagny's account of the Cl. Victor MS., in spite of his assurance that it was extraordinarily old, does not give us the impression of an earlier date.

Delandine's ascription of all the older Lugdunenses to Ile Barbe breaks down on another count. A number of ninth century MSS. now at Lyons were presented to the Cathedral Library by the archbishops Leidrad, Agobard, Amolo and Remigius. We find in them a record of the presentation. In one, Lyons 471 (401) Beda in Esdram, presented by Agobard, we find also a 1511 entry by a Pierre Rostaing who re-arranged the Cathedral Library. And this tells us that the MS. belonged to the Cathedral both in the ninth century and the beginning of the sixteenth. On fol. 2^r is a fourteenth century title: Liber Bede super Esdram prophetam. Since a number of other Lyons MSS. have their titles written by this same hand, we may infer an Inventory-taking in the fourteenth century of the Cathedral Library. These titles appear in some of the oldest MSS., e. g. n.° 468, of saec. vii. This confutes the idea that all the old MSS. belonged to Ile Barbe until the sixteenth century.

To my knowledge, there is only one MS. (Paris lat. 2859, saec. ix) whose presence at Ile Barbe in the tenth century is proved by an 'ex libris' entry. Even it, in my opinion, was given to Ile Barbe by the Cathedral.

(*To be continued*).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE DER LATEINISCHEN BUCHSCRIFT (bis 1050) 1911-1922

VON WILHELM WEINBERGER.

1. Die von Herrn Professor Lindsay angeregte und geförderte Bibliographie, die den Fortschritt und die weiteren Aufgaben der Forschung betonen möchte, schliesst sich an Text und Bibliographie von Thompson's Introduction auch in dem Sinne an, dass dort nicht erwähnte Veröffentlichungen von 1910 hier aufgenommen wurden. In der Anordnung schienen einige Aenderungen notwendig, um die wechselseitige Beeinflussung der Buch- und der Bedarfsschrift (die also nicht ganz beiseite gelassen werden konnte) hervortreten zu lassen. Es folgen also auf einen allgemeinen Teil, in dem Thompson's Introduction und -wegen seines Textbandes- Zimmermanns Tafelwerk den Uebergang von Büchern zu Sammlungen von Schriftproben bilden und anhangsweise einige allgemeine Werke über Abkürzungen verzeichnet sind, die Abschnitte: II. Kapitale. III. Kursive. IV. Unziale. V. Kontinentale Halbunziale. VI. Insulare Schrift. VII. Uebergangsschriften (a. nord-, b. süditalienisch, c. spanisch, d. merowingisch). VIII. Karolingische Minuskel. — Für Cassiodors Hss-Sammlung in Vivarium s. unten 13, 21.
2. *Reproduktionen ganzer Hss* werden in 12, 16 [25] und 32 erwähnt.

Für *Palimpsestphotographie* nenne ich hier:

R. Kögel Die Photographie historischer Dokumente. 44 Beiheft zum ZB 1914 (vgl. Stud. Mitt. zur Gesch. d. Benediktinerordens XXXIII 304. XXXIV 127. Berl. S.-Ber. 1914, 974); Palimpsestphotographie. Encyclopädie der Photographie. 95 Heft, Halle 1920.

[G. L. Perugi Saggio di Anastasiografia, Roma 1922; Nuovo Metodo Scientifico per la Riproduzione dei Palinsesti, Roma 1922. ED.]

Für das *Erlangen von Photographien* aus den einzelnen Bibl.: die Zusammenstellungen von Rabe Ph W 1915, 30; und in Photographs of MSS. Reports from His Majesty's Representatives abroad respecting Facilities for obtaining Ph. of. MSS. in Public Libraries in certain Foreign Countries, London 1922.

An Kürzungen:

(Neues) Archiv (der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichte).

Bibl. = Bibliot(h)eca, Bibliothek, Bibliothèque.

C. = Catalogo, Catalogue, Catalogus.

C(odices) G(raeci et) L(atini photographice depicti).

D(eutsche) L(iteratur-) Z(eitung).

Jahresber(icht für Altertumswiss.).

J(ournal of) Th(eological) St(udies).

L(iterarisches) Z(entral-) B(latt).

Ms, Mss = Manuscript(us), manuscrit, manoscritto, Manuskripte usw.

N(eue) Jahrb(ücher f. klass. Philol.).

Pal(ae) = Paläographie, Paléographie usw.; pal = paläographisch usw.

(Berliner) Ph(ilologische) W(ochenschrift).

R(eproductions) B(ibl.) N(ationale).

R(eal-) E(nzyklopädie d. klass. Altertumwiss.).

Verz(eichnis).

Z(entralblatt für) B(ibliothekswesen).

Arbeiten, von denen ich nicht Kenntniss nehmen konnte, sind mit * bezeichnet.

3. Für die in 1 berührte Entwicklung der Schrift kommt eine bestimmte *Terminologie* in Betracht. Uncialis, das an der oft behandelten Hieronymus-Stelle nur 'zollgross' bedeuten kann (Jahresber. CXCIII 81) hält Traube (III 117 = Münch. S.-Ber. 1900, 533) für eine Prägung der ältesten christlichen Kalligraphie. Die anderen Bezeichnungen der Schriftarten gehen sicherlich teils auf Mabillon zurück, der sie in sein Werk De re diplomatica (Paris 1681) von Praktikern übernahm (Traube 79 = 472), teils auf die Herausgeber neuer und neuesten Handbücher oder Sammlungen von Schriftproben. Für Unziale und Kursivunziale (die Majuskelkursive kann in Kapital- und Unzialkursive geteilt werden)

s. 15, für Halbunziale 15, 16, für Halbkursive 11 a. E. und Jahresber. 135 S. 24. Besonders wichtig ist es, dass Minuskel nur von ganz regelmässiger Schrift mit durchgeführter Worttrennung gebraucht werde (vgl. unten 6, 16). Statt Nationalschriften sage ich Uebergangsschriften (s. 22). Fraglich ist es, ob die insulare Minuskel hinzugenommen und etwa gr-Schrift genannt werden soll, die süditalienisch dann er- oder Kerbschrift, die spanische gt-Schrift (s. N. Jahrb. XLVII 168). Die merowingische Schift könnte als a- oder als Schnörkelschrift bezeichnet werden, wenn mann es nicht nach dem unten in 29 Gesagten vorzieht, nur die Schrift von Luxeuil als ar-, die von Corbie als b-, und den az-Typ abzusondern.

I. Allgemeines.

4. Ludwig Traube Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen. II (München 1911) 22-31. III 1920 VI-X, 95-105, 112-119. 213 ff.

Bertold Bretholz Lat. Pal. (Grundriss der Geschichtswiss. hgg. v. A. Meister I[2]) Leipzig, 1912, 112 S. bietet eine gute, in Literaturangaben und Beispielen auch auf Einzelheiten eingehende Einführung.

Wilhelm Weinberger Bericht über Paläographie und Hsskunde 1907-1910. Jahresber. CLVIII 1912, 96. — 1911-1915. CLXXII 1915, 1. — 1916-1921. CXCIII 1922, 79. — Schrift. RE klass. Altertumswiss. II A 1921, 711-717, 723-737.

R. Cagnat Cours d'épigraphie lat.[4] Paris 1914 (S. 10 Buchstabenformen der Inschriften).

5. Paul Lehmann Aufgaben und Anregungen der lat. Philologie des Mittelalters. Münch. S.-Ber. 1918 VIII (Wichtige Gesichtspunkte für notwendige pal. Arbeiten).

Artur Mentz Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Schrift bis zur Erfindung des Buchdruckes mit beweglichen Lettern. Ein Versuch. Leipzig 1920. 155 S. bietet viele Anregungen, namentlich für die Beeinflussung der Schriftentwicklung durch Schreibstoffe und —geräte, physiologische, psychologische und kulturelle

Verhältnisse; doch muss jede Behauptung nachgeprüft werden (s. N. Jahrb. XLVII 165. Jahresber. CXCIII 80 f.). Für lat. Buchschrift kommen S. (41). 57-65, 72 f.), 76, 85, 92-116, 120-124, (130-137) in Betracht.

* Luigi Schiaparelli La scrittura lat. nell'età Romana (Auxilia ad res Italicas medii aevi explorandas I) Como 1921; vgl. DLZ 1921, 350. Archiv. XLIV 151.

6. Edward Maunde Thompson An Introduction to Greek and Lat. Pal. Oxford 1912. 600 S. Die treffliche Darstellung ist auf der Erläuterung der Schriftproben (119 lat.) aufgebaut.

E. Heinrich Zimmermann Vorkarolingische Miniaturen (Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft [1]. Denkmäler deutscher Kunst. III Sektion. Malerei I.) Berlin 1916. Die 341 Tafeln enthalten auch viele Proben von Unziale. Halbunziale und Halbkursive. Die von Z. statt Halbkursive oder Frühminuskel (vgl. N. Jahrb. XLVII 164) gebrauchte Bezeichnung Minuskel hat ihn verleitet, S. 2 von einer Verdrängung der Unziale durch die kleinteilige nervöse Minuskel zu sprechen und (S. 53 Petersburger Gregor, 72 Cambridger Ambrosius) den Begriff der Stilisierung (R E II A 712, 24) mit vielen Worten zu umschreiben. Erläuterungen und Hss-Beschreibungen des Textbandes berücksichtigen Schriftbefund und pal. Literatur [2]. Die Verfolgung des vielfach auffällig übereinstimmenden Buchschmuckes führt Angaben über Schulangehörigkeit, die nicht ohne weiters in Schriftheimat umgesetzt werden dürfen, und zu gewissen Zeitgrenzen (so für bestimmte Fisch- und Vogelformen, die Vorliebe für grelle Farben setzt um 700 ein); das zeitliche Verhältnis ein-

(1) Die von demselben Verein hgg. Berichte über die Arbeiten an den D. d. K. sind nun überholt.

(2) S. 68 heisst es, dass die Entstehung von St Gallen 214 mit der Provenienz des Kodex und der Verwandtschaft mit Bern 611 begrundet wird. Die Stelle bei Lowe (Studia pal. = Münch. S.-Ber. 1910 XII 49, 1) lautet aber: Weitere Forschung mag Beziehungen zwischen Luxeuil und Chur oder einem anderen Schweizer Zentrum aufdecken. Ich vermute, dass Bern 611 und St Gallen 214 unter Luxeuiler Einfluss in der Schweiz entstanden sind. — Bei 122 und 251 ist II auf New. Pal. Soc. in I zu verbessern (beim Vallicell. B 62 nach II hinzufügen; pl. 7). Im Verz. der Hss Mailand F 87 in 84.

zelner Hss aber lässt sich nicht immer mit Sicherheit bestimmen; s. Zimmermann S. 72, Ottenthal Mitt. Inst. öst. Gesch. XXXVII 648; Lehmann Ph W 1917, 1621; unten 12, 16, 21, 23, 29; ZB XXXIV 189: Manche Lokalisierungen werden über kurz oder lang als imaginär zurückgestellt werden. Das Individuelle scheint zu wenig berücksichtigt; schwache Arbeiten gelten meist als ausserhalb der Hauptschule entstanden; s. S. 73 über Burney 340, aber auch 74 über Paris n. a. 1619. Zu beachten sind Z. Datierungen um so mehr, als sich mit pal. Mittel Bestimmungen auch Jahrzehnten kaum erreichen lassen. — Die Tafeln werden unten mit der Closter Nummer angeführt.

7. Anton Chroust Monumenta pal. II. Serie 6-24. München 1911-1917.

Tabulae in usum scholarum et sub cura Iohannis Lietzmann. III: Specimina codicum lat. Vaticanorum collegerunt F. Ehrle et P. Liebaert. 1912. IV: Inscriptiones Latinae. —collegit Ernestus Diehl. 1912 (inschriftliche Kapitale; für Kursive s. 29 c).

Lindley Richard Dean Index to Facsimiles in the Pal. Society Publications. Princeton 1914 (Pal. Society und 1 Serie der New Pal. Society) kann trotz mancher Druckfehler gute Dienste leisten. Im 3. Index (Bibl.) findet mann statt unter London, British Museum unter B, Westminster Abbey unter W, im 4. Lat. cap., curs., carol. min., goth. min., ins. min., lomb. min., mer. min., precarol. min., visig. min., unc., half unc.

The New Pal. Society Facsimiles of Ancient Mss I 226-250 (1912). II 1-115 (1915-1921).

Rudolf Beer Monumenta pal. Vindobonensia II. Leipzig 1913. Proben aus den Bobienses 16 (jetzt wieder in Italien) und 958 (Sakramentar), die unten 9, 12, 13, 16, 23 und 32 erwähnt werden.

The Liebaert Collection of Photographs from Latin Mss (Flugblatt von Lindsay, 1920); ein genaues Verzeichniss soll in den Studi e testi erscheinen.

M. R. James C. of the Latin MSS. in the John Rylands Library. Manchester 1921. 2. (Tafel-) Band.

G. F. Warner, Jul. P. Gilson C. of the Western MSS.

in the old Royal and King's collections in the Brit. Mus. London 1921.

8. Luigi Schiaparelli Note pal. Segni tachigrafici nelle Notae iuris. Archivio storico Italiano LXXII 1914 I 241. LXXIII 1915 I 245-275. Le N. i. e il sistema delle abbreviature medievali, 275-322. Intorno all'origine e ad alcuni caratteri della scrittura (s. unten 17) e del sistema abbreviativo Irlandese. LXXIV 1916 II 1-126. Reiche Literaturangaben und viele beachtenswerte (auch über die Abkürzungen hinausgehende) Einzelheiten; die Erklärungen, namentlich die Herleitungen der Abkürzungen (per, prae, pro, quam, quia, quod, autem, con, contra, eius, est, et, vel) aus tironischen Zeichen erfordern genaue Nachprüfung.

Wallace M. Lindsay Notae Lat. Cambridge 1915 verzeichnet und bespricht die Abkürzungen lat. Hss aus der Zeit von 700-850 in 3 Gruppen: Notae communes, Nomina sacra, Notae iuris. Capricious Abbreviations. Das Hss.-Verzeichniss ist für viele pal. Fragen von der grössten Wichtigkeit. Von früheren Arbeiten sind hier zu nennen: The Abbreviation Symbols of ergo, igitur. ZB XXIX 1912, 56 und der Zusatz zu Steffens' Notiz über Abkürzungen von St. Gallner Hss ZB XXX 488-491, von späteren: A new clue to the emendation of latin Texts, Class. Phil. XI 1916, 270-277 [Cicero-Papyri aus Oxyrhynchus — s. unten 11 — mit den Abkürzungen e(ss)e, q(ui)d(em), t(a)m(en), t(i)b(i), ig(itur). Pal. lat. 1753], Ancient notae and Latin texts. Class. Quart. XI 1917, 38 (Der Ausdehnung der Bezeichnung Notae iuris auf alle Notae antiquae wird eine gewisse Berechtigung zuerkannt. Es scheint mir besser, Suspensionen und Kontraktionen zu scheiden und bei den einzelnen Worten das Vorkommen in juristischen Hss zu verzeichnen).

Wilhelm Weinberger Kurzschrift. RE XI 1921, 2217-2231. Kurze Uebersicht mit Literaturangaben, es werden auch die noch heute wertvollen Teile der für ihre Zeit trefflichen Uebersicht.

Christian Johnen Geschichte der Stenographie. Berlin 1911 (Kurzgefasste G. d. St 1917) hervorgehoben (156

f. Schriftkürzung, 163 f. Kurzschrift mit unrichtiger Annahme von Volkskürzungen des Ennius) ferner die Arbeiten von Mentz und Ruess (s. unten 32) über tironische Noten. Mentz Die Hs C von Justins Epitome. Hermes LV 196 beweist die stenographische Vorlage nicht. Für Nomina sacra s. Jahresber, CXCIII 91 f.

II. — Kapitale.

9. Oxyrh. Pap. 1098 (VIII 1911 mit T. VI): Vergil. Beer (primäre Schrift von 16): Lucan (auf diesen und die Vergilhs Vat. 3256 kommen wir bei der Unziale zurück). Die Vergilhs F (Vat. 3225) bezeichnet Sabbadini Riv. fil. XLVI 1918 wegen Rechtschreibung und Schrift der Verbesserungen als spanisch.

III. — Kursive.

10. Henry Bartlett Van Hoesen Roman Cursive Writing. Princeton 1915 ist nicht mehr als eine reichhaltige Stoffsammlung (besonders dankenswert für Papyri; vgl. Artur Stein, Untersuch. zur Gesch. u. Verwaltung Aegyptens. Stuttgart 1915, 206). Die Nachzeichnungen einer grossen Zahl von Alphabeten reichen nicht aus, ein Bild der Kursive und ihrer Entwicklung zu geben oder gar die Notwendigkeit der Einteilung in Majuskel- und Minuskelkursive zu bestreiten; für das im 4 Jh. hervortetende Vierliniensystem vgl. N Jahrb. XLVII 165. Die Bibliographie S. 245-265 hat geringen Wert.

Richard Pietschmann Paläographisches. Aufsätze Fritz Milkau gewidmet. Leipzig 1921, S. 281-285 weist auf die Gewohnheit der Kursive hin, Teile von Buchstaben selbständig zu machen (und wo es bequem ist, ein Stück des vorausgehenden Schriftzeichens als vordersten Bestandteil des nachfolgenden zu verwerten) und verfolgt Formen des lat. R von den frühesten Proben lat. Buchschrift bis zur englischen Urkundenschrift.

11. O. Schissel von Fleschburg und C. P. Lehmann-Haupt Eine lat. Grabschrift in Kapitalkursive. Klio XVI 1920, 129-136 (Facsimile, die Formen sind nicht die der Papyri, sondern die der Wandinschriften und Bleitafeln, manchmal auch die der Wachstafeln, vgl. Tabulae IV). — Auf die Bedeutung der Kapitalkursive für die Ueberlieferungsgeschichte weist Degering hinten (unten 12).

Papiri Greci e Latini II (Firenze 1913) S. 65 mit Tafel. Der Papyrus 142 Umarbeitung von Vergilversen) wird III-IV angesetzt: das 3 Jh. scheint durch das deutliche Hervortreten des Vierliniensystems ausgeschlossen. An diese Kursive (vgl. auch die Proben in

C. of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library I. Manchester 1911 (griech.-lat. Ciceropapyrus 61),

Ostraka latins de Carthage. Journal d. Savants N. S. IX 1911, 511-522, und die aus Turin G V 26 bei Lindsay Notes [unten 19] und in Collezione pal. Bobb. 21) erinnern die Ciceropapyri Oxyrh 1097 (VIII 1911 T. VI), 1251 X 1914 (hochgestelltes a und u), die als Halbunziale mit kursiver Tendenz bezeichnet werden, mehr als an die kalligraphische Halbunziale. Zwischen den Bezeichnungen Urkunden- oder Geschäftsschrift des 5-7 Jh., Minuskelkursive, Halbunzialkursive schwankt

Brandi Ein lat. Papyrus aus dem Anfang des 6 Jh. Arch. f. Urkundenl. V 1914, 269 (mit Lichtdrucktafel). Vgl. James 1.

Auf die für literarische Zwecke verwendete Buch- oder Halbkursive kommen wir bei VII zurück.

IV. — **Unziale.**

12 Bick, Zeitschr. öst. Gymn. LXII 1911, 316 (Nachträge zur Liste: Traube I 171). Oxyrh. Pap. 1073 (VIII T. VI: 4 Jh?). Lowe, Class. Rev. XXXVI 1922, 154. Chroust II 10, 3. New Pal. Soc. I 230. II 82-85. 101. Beer (primäre Schrift von 16: Pelagonius usw.) Liebaert. Clark T. 4-7 und die unten 25 angeführten Nachträge. Zu

Zimmermanns zahlreichen Tafeln (nach 137 nur vereinzelt; 204 Stockholmer codex aureus; 2224 Amiatinus) seien die Bedenken Ottentals 651 betreffs 44, 45 (Paris-Genfer Augustin) und Lehmanns 1624, 1626 betreffs 74, 75 (Cambridge, St. Gallen, Bern) angeführt.

Hermann Degering Ueber ein Bruchstück einer Plautushs des 4. Jh. Berl. S.-Ber. 1919, 465, 497 (Berl. lat. qu. 784; Purpurtinte; Schriftprobe). [Now rejected, as a forgery, by Chatelain, Bull. Acad. Inscr. Mai-Juin 1922; cf. Lowe, Class. Rev 1923. ED.].

Paul Lehmann Die Konstanz-Weingartener Prophetenfragmente (CGL Suppl. IX 1912).

Raccolta di codici riprodotti in facsimili della R. accademia di Torino: Il codice evangelico k della Bibl. Univ. Naz. di Torino 1912. — Bei dieser Hs, der im Titel genannten, und 2 Cyprian hss stellt.

Elias A. Lowe On the African Origin of Codex Palatinus of the Gospels (e) JTh St XXIII 1922, 401-404 die Eigentümlichkeit fest, dass die Buchstaben von den gezogenen Linien durchschnitten werden.

[Turner (cf. 14) has 8 plates of a Worcester Cathedral fragment of Jerome on Matthew in Spanish uncial. ED].

13. Lowe stellt auch 2 Kapital- und 16 Unzialhss zusammen, die am Beginn der Seite (der Kolumne) und mitten im Worte einen grossen Kapitalbuchstaben haben. Die Beobachtung gewinnt am Wert, wenn man daraut aufmerksam wird, dass nicht nur alle 4 Palimpseste, der schon in 9 genannte Lucan, der Plinius von St. Paul, dessen sekundäre Schrift schon Chatelain Pal. class. lat. II 13 auf Verona oder Bobbio bezog, der Veroneser Gaius (mit dem auch I App. f. 10 zusammenhängt) und der Ambrosianus C 73 i., sondern auch der Ambrosius von St. Paul (Abbildung in: Die Reichenauer Hss [Die Hss der... Bibl. in Karlsruhe VII] III 2, 1918 T. 5) Verona XIII (Hilarius) und XXVIII (Augustin) auf Cassiodors Bibl. in Vivarium zurückgeführt werden oder sich doch zurückführen lassen ([1]);

([1]) Von den übrigen Hss will ich nur bemerken, dass der Pariser Livius (3. Dekade) und der Petersburger Augustin aus Corbie stammen und der Li-

vgl. Beer, auch seine Bemerkungen über den ältesten Hssbestand des Klosters Bobbio. Anzeiger der Wiener Akademie 3. Mai 1911. S. 14-16 und 24 des Sonderdruckes werden die meist palimpsestierten Veronenses II, XXXVIII (allerdings schon 517 in Verona zum zweitenmal beschrieben), XXXIX, XL, LV und LXII herangezogen [1]). Da wir uns unten 22 mit der sekundären Schrift von Verona XL beschäftigen müssen, die grosse Aehnlichkeit mit der des Plinius zeigt, sei gleich bemerkt, dass ihre Zurückführung auf Bobbio (Vivarium) durch die charakteristische Verwendung kleiner Teile verschiedener Hss gesichert erscheint. Der reskribierte Teil zeigt Vergil in Capitalis quadrata, deren Aehnlichkeit mit dem Lucan Beer nach Autopsie bestätigt (Traube I S. 162, N. 3; wo als Bibliotheksheimat Bobbio angegeben wird, den für Cassiodor bezeugten Euklid in Capitalis rustica (a. a. O. 171, 23 Verona) und Livius 1. Dekade in Unziale (251, 49 Verona; die sekundäre Schrift ist versehentlich als Unzial bezeichnet).

14. Lowe erwähnt auch die Pliniushs Morgan M 462, s.

* E. A. Lowe and E. K. Rand A Sixth-Century Fragment of the Letters of Pliny. A study of six leaves of an uncial Ms., Washington 1921.

* C. H. Turner Early Worcester Mss., photographically reproduced. Oxford 1916. (Bruchstücke des 8 Jh. von Evang. [halbunz.], Gregor Reg. past. [halbunz.], Paterius).

E. C. Armstrong and H. T. Lawlor The Domnach Airgid. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy XXXIV 1918 S. VII 96. Die Hs selbst hat keine Beziehung zu Patrick. Nach brieflicher Mitteilung des

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vius auf Avellino bei Neapel zurückgeführt wird und Wien 1235, eben weil er aus Neapel stammte, jetzt nach Italien zurückgeführt wurde. Eine graphische Aehnlichkeit des Pariser Livius mit dem Wiener Plinius-Bruchstück (in Titel) erwähnt Chatelain a. a. O.

(1) Es liessen sich auch andere Veronenses mit Vivarium in Verbindung bringen. Für einen Ambrosiaster-Palimpsest (s. Beer 17) in Wolfenbüttel s. ThLZ 1917, 71; den Ambrosiaster von Monte Cassino weist Traube I S. 202 N. 116 der Bibl. des Eugippius zu.

Herrn Professors Lindsay kann sie auch aus Rom mitgebracht worden sein.

Texte und Arbeiten hgg. von der Erzabtei Beuron I 5, 1918: Dold bezeichnet das Palimpsest Sakramentar des Mainzer Priesterseminars in Goldschrift als vorhadrianisch. Mohlberg setzt es Theol. Revue 1919, 20 in das 4 Jh; s. DLZ 1921, 1616. LZB 1920, 1461.

15. Neben der reinen Unziale, die — vielleicht in diokletianischer Zeit — durch Aufnahme stilisierter Rundformen der Kursive für *a*, *d*, *e*, *h*, *m*, *q* und *u* in die Kapitale entstand, gab es eine flüchtigere Unziale mit vereinzelten kursiven Formen (etwa *r* und *s* am Zeilenende; von der Art war nach Garrod, Lombardic. Class. Quart. XIII 51 der Catull-Archetyp, den Scaliger lombardisch nannte), aber auch eine Mischschrift, der man etwa den Namen Kursiv-Unziale geben könnte (dazu würde ich auch rechnen, was Lowe JTh St XIV 1913, 335 den bd-Typus der Unziale nennt. Wenn Mentz 73 mit Berufung auf Thompson, der aber S. 298 die Livius-Epitome von Oxyrhynchos nur als ancestor of the mixed-uncial and half-uncial Mss. bezeichnet, which form the subject of the present chapter, von Halbunziale spricht, möchte ich diesen Namen lieber der kalligraphischen Halbunziale vorbehalten.

IV. — **Kontinentale Halbunziale.**

16. Beer (primäre Schrift von 16). Chroust II 6, 8. Clark (s. 25) 1-3, 8, 9. Liebaert New Pal. Soc. II 5, 6. Zimmermann 1 b, 29, 40-43, 85r, 92, 102, 115-119, 129, 130-134, 138-141. Mentz 96 nimmt den Vorschlag auf, die Halbunziale als Minuskel zu bezeichnen; vgl RE II A 731, 50.

Spicilegium palimpsestorum arte photographica paratum per S. Benedicti monachos Archiabbatiae Beuronensis I 1913: Codex Sangallensis 193 continens fragmenta plurium prophetarum (primäre Schrift).

Henri Omont Fragments d'un très ancien ms lat. provenant de l'Afrique du Nord. Comptes-rendus de l'Ac. d. Inscr. et Belles-lettres 1918, 241-250 (Par. lat. n. a. 1114 aus Tebessa; Schriftprobe).

VI. — Insulare Schrift.

17\. S. oben, 14 Turner: Chroust II 6, 9 (Halbunziale, letzte Zeile jeder Seite Minuskel = Zimmermann 254; 22 6-10. New Pal. Soc. I 231-234. II 11, 33-35, 58-62, 81 102.

Lehmann 10 (angelsächsischer Einfluss auf Deutschland), 39 und 50 (Literaturangaben). Schiaparelli (oben 8) glaubt dass die irische Schrift (mit ihren Abkürzungen) unter dem Einfluss der einheimischen Ogamschrift im 5 Jh. entstanden sei, und bespricht 116 ff. den Uebergang zur gewöhnlicher Minuskel (vgl. Lehmann 13).

18\. H. M. Bannister Fragments of an Anglo-saxon Sacramentary. JTh St XII 1911, 451 (Köln, Stadtarchiv; 8. Jh.).

W. M. Lindsay Breton Scriptoria. ZB XXIX 1912, 264-272 (2 insulare Hss).

— Early Welsh Script. St Andrews University Publications X 1912. 17 T. Scharfe Charakterisierung ist nicht möglich, wie für die Abkürzungen (2 Formen für est, v mit übergesetztem Komma = ut) auch die Notae lat. bestätigen. Zu T. 1 (Book of Chad in Lichfield) vgl. Morris-Jones, Taliesin. Cymmrodor XXXVIII 1918, 261-279: sowohl die Halbunziale als auch die Minuskel der mit Surexit beginnenden Eintragung gehören in das 6. Jh. Es ist gewiss denkbar, dass sich hier wie anderswo (für Corbie s. unten 31) Halbunziale und Halbkursive neben einander entwickelten. Für die Uebereinstimmung der insularen mit den anderen Uebergangsschriften (VII) kommt ausser der gleichen Entwicklung der Kursive (für kursive Elemente der insularen Schrift, namentlich *i* vgl. Lindsay, Irish Cursive Script. Z. f. celt. Phil. IX 1913, 301-308; 2 T.) die Einwirkung insularer Schreiber in Betracht.

19\. Louis Gougaud Répertoire des facsimiles des mss. Irlandais. Rev. celt. XXXIV 1913, 14-37. XXXV 415-430. XXVIII 1-14.

W. M. Lindsay Palaeographical Notes. I. The Script of the Cathach. II. The Colophon of the Durrow Book.

Appendix II (397-403) zu H. T. Lawlor The Cathach of St. Columba. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Acad. XXXIII 1916 C 11, 241-443 (T. XXXIII Halbunziale des Cathach. T. XXXIV Halbunziale und Halbkursive von Turin G V 26; s. oben 11). Lindsay weist daraut hin, dass wenige Proben der lat. Bedarfsschrift erhalten sind, diese aber dafür sprechen, Minuskelelemente weit früher anzusetzen als es bisher üblich war (vgl. Jahresber. 135, 23 f.). Der Psalter könne also sehr wohl aus dem 6. Jh stammen (Zimmermann S. 21 setzt ihn an das Ende des 8. Jh.). Die Subskription des Durrow Book dürfte eine Abschrift von Columbas eigenhändiger Eintragung sein. — S. 399 A. 2 kommt L. auf die Notae 321 und 457 geaüsserte Ansicht zurück, Bonifaz könne Fulda 3 in seiner Jugend bei mangelhafter Kenntnis des Irischen in Südengland geschrieben und dabei auch die Subskription seines Freundes Cadmug kopiert haben. Später hat er sich vielleicht eine bessere Schrift angeeignet oder doch auf die Randbemerkungen in Fulda 1 besondere Sorgfalt verwendet. Zimmermann T. 205 c setzt die Hs gegen 800, Lehmann um 750, also noch zu Bonifaz' Lebzeiten, aber nicht in seiner Jugend. — Auf Lawlor, dessen Index (Mss.) gute Dienste leisten kann, kommen wir bei der karolingischen Minuskel zurück.

20. Paul Lehmann Enim und autem in mittelalterlichen lat. Hss. Philologus 1916, 542-547 (als Erweis insularer Vorlagen von kontinentalen Hss). Die Abkürzungen spielen auch eine grosse Rolle bei der Scheidung (s. auch Lowe Ph W 1920, 1174) angelsächsischer Hss; nur in diesen qnd, qndo für quando, t mit Durchkreuzung des Querstriches für tur (s. auch Lindsay — unten 26 — S. 428), Kürzungen für omnis nur in irischen.

Hermann Degering Ein Alkoholrezept aus dem 8. Jh. Berl. S.-Ber. 1917, 503. Die Zurückführung auf das 8. Jh. beruht auf Fehlern, die sich durch insulare Vorlage erklären, z. B. igritum statt ignitum.

21. Nach Zimmermann hat England den übernommenen irischen Buchschmuck ausgebildet und dem Festlande über-

mittelt. Das oft für irischen Einfluss angeführte St. Gallner Sakramentar stamme aus Chur (s. unten 33) und verarbeite angelsächsische Motive. Aus seinen Erlaüterungen zu T. 160 ff. (irische Hss, Lindisfarne-, Echternach-, Canterbury- und südenglische Gruppe) sei ferner hervorgehoben, dass er das Book of Durrow und das Book of Kells gleich dem Lindisfarne-Evangeliar an den Anfang des 8. Jh. setzt und das Lindisfarne-Evangeliar wie den Amiatinus auf Cassiodors codex grandior zurückführt. Bei St. Gallen 51 scheint mir Lindsays Urteil (Notae 483, dass die 3 letzten Zeilen (Zimmermann 1920) zwar wie ein später Zusatz aussehen, es aber schwerlich sind, noch immer beachtenswert. Wenn Z. S. 126 behauptet *b* und *d* seien in der Halbunziale des Epternacensis (Par. 9389) offen (in der von Maihingen I 2. 4.° 2 geschlossen), so zeigen die Tafeln, dass das einstrichige b immer geschlossen ist, das zweistrichige d allerdings erst in der Maihinger Hs.

VII. — **Uebergangsschriften (Halbkursive).**

22. Das Nebeneinander unzialer, halbunzialer, kursiver und Minuskelformen in verschiedenen Schreibschulen (vgl. Palae. Lat. I 1-66) zeigt wie insulare (vgl. oben 18), merovingische, spanische und süditalienische Eigentümlichkeiten auf die Kursive zurückgehen. Uns diese Einheitlichkeit der Kursive klarzumachen, hindert uns einerseits die geringe Zahl von erhaltenen Stücken der Bedarfsschrift (Lindsay Notes), andererseits die Nachwirkungen von Mabillons Nationalschriften. Es scheint auffällig, dass frankoburgundische und spanische Hs ihre Bibliotheksheimat in Italien haben. Thompsons Bezeichnung: Franco-Lombardic hängt vielleicht damit zusammen, dass Traube II 28 die Schrift von Verona XL als scriptura Luxoviensis bezeichnet (A 4, in der die Hs als Beispiel für Kursivschrift eigener Art erscheint, ist als Zusatz Lehmanns gekennzeichnet). Lowe (oben A. 2) 31 hat dagegen mit Berufung auf die gleiche Schrift von Paris 9427 (s. Zimmermann 34 a

— ohne Buchschmuck — 53-57) die Hs auf Luxeuil zurückgeführt. Nach dem oben 13 Gesagten kann die sekundäre Schrift von Verona XL und St. Paul 25. 2. 36 (Plinius; Die Reichenauer Hss. III 2 T. 4) nur in Oberitalien entstanden sein, man könnte allerdings an einen Mönch denken, der von Luxeuil, gleichfalls einer Gründung Columbans, nach Bobbio kam. Auch bei einer der "spanischen" Hss italienischer Bibl., der Bibel von La Cava, gilt der Name des Schreibers Danila als gotisch. Es wird aber doch zu untersuchen sein, ob nicht in Italien (s. unten 24) in verschiedenen Typen der Kursive (mit verschiedenen Abkürzungen) geschrieben wurde, die dann in Frankreich oder Spanien herrschend wurden. Ivrea 1 (Z. 48, 49) könnte nach der Uebereinstimmung des Buchschmuckes mit dem oben 12 erwähnten Augustin französisch, könnte aber auch, etwa nach französischer Vorlage, in Norditalien entstanden sein (vgl. Traube Archiv XXVI 230).

Wenn S. Berger, Hist. de la Vulgate. Paris 1893, 58 f. einen Teil der Korrekturen and zwei Zusätze im Texte des Ambros. I 61 s. (aus Bobbio) als merovingisch bezeichnet, so zeigt wenigstens die Kursive des jetzt bei Steffens 27 b abgebildeten Zusatzes keine merovingische Eigentümlichkeit. Die anderen Korrekturen bezeichnen Berger und Steffens als irisch; der Text ist in insularer Halbunziale, vermutlich auf dem Festlande, geschrieben (Berger denkt an Bobbio).

a) Norditalienische Kursive.

23. Zimmermann 19 e-h (Mailänder Maximus, bisher in das 7. Jh. gesetzt, von Lowe a. a. O. bei Besprechung einer z-Form ins 8. Z. setzt ihn, weil mit den Formem der Schule in dürftiger Weise gearbeitet, nach dem Mailänder Gregor, mit dem der Buchschmuck charakteristische Aehnlichkeit zeigt. Der Gregor wird 750 angesetzt, weil der genannte Auftraggeber, Abt Anastasius, durch eine Urkunde von 747 bezeugt ist. Vor 700 scheint der Maximus keinesfalls entstanden zu sein), 24 d (im Liebaert Verz. als Ital. precaroline

s. IX in. bezeichnet: aus Novara stammt auch Steffens 42 b [42 a aus Montecassino]). 37 (Augiensis LVII: CCXXIX — verkehrte Beta-Form für assibiliertes ti; s. auch Zimmermann 34 b — Chroust II 10, 10), 34 (Verona; dieselbe ti-Form). Ehrle 10. New Pal. Soc. II 13. Beer (sekundäre Schrift von 16; S. 39, 50, 53). Fumagalli, Pal. greca e lat. di E. M. Thompson[3]. Mailand 1911 (Manuali Hoepli 2 Serie 140) T. 2.

b) Süditalienische Schrift.

24. E. A. Loew (jetzt Lowe) The Beneventan Script, Oxford 1914 verfolgt die Schriftart (über den Namen vgl. Ottental Mitt. Inst. Oest. Gesch XXXVI 205: Proben auch bei James 2-7) vom 8. Jh. (für den Zusammenhang mit norditalienischer Schrift s. New Pal. Soc. II 13) bis in das 13. 14. ist zweifelhaft) und geht in den Abschnitten, die Abkürzungen und Interpunktion behandeln, über diese Schriftart hinaus. Für die Unterscheidung des assibilierten *ti* und den Gebrauch der I longa in verschiedenen Schriftarten verweise ich hin auf 22 (Palae. Lat. I, 23 (s. auch Z. 45 c, 49, 57 b) und 25.

c) Spanische Schrift.

25. A. Burnam Pal. Iberica. I Paris 1910 (Pariser Hs der Lex Romana Visigothorum vom Jahre 828). 'II 1920 (7 span. Hss, s. Hist. Rev. 1922, 156).

Charles Upson Clark Collectanea Hispanica (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences XXIV) Paris 1920. Reichhaltige Stoffsammlung mit guten Zusammenstellungen und 70 (verkleinerten) Proben. Nachträge: N. Jahrb. XLVII 163f. (ti, tj). Jahresber. CXCIII S. 89. Hist. Rev. 1921, 465. Ph W 1921, 321. ZB XXXIX 345, vgl. James 109-111, 120-122, 136. Bei Datierungen scheint der Uebergang von der Kursive zur Minuskel beachtet werden zu müssen: vgl.

Alfred Hessel Studien zur Verbreitung der karolingischen Minuskel. I. Spanien. Archiv f. Urkundenforsch. VII 1921, 197-202.

[Henri de Ville de Mirmont Ausonius. Codex... Vossianus Latinus 111. (phototyp.) Paris 1919. ED.].

d) Merovingische Schrift. Vorkarolingische Minuskel.

26. W. M. Lindsay The old script of Corbie. Revue bibl. XXII 1912, 405-429 mit Abbildung aus Montpellier 69. Verz. von Hss des ab-Typus — die S. 412 angeführte Hs von Karlsruhe ist Reichenau Fr. 140, für Düsseldorf B 3 s. jetzt Chroust II 24, 3, Notae XI 1 werden Bordeaux 21, Köln Stadtarchiv B 140 nachgetragen [cf. Revue bibl. XXIV 24 A. 2 ED.] — a = ic, b mit horizontalem Verbindungsstrich zum folgenden Buchstaben. Abkürzungen angelsächsisch. Von den 35 angeführten Hss erscheinen 15 auf Zimmermanns Tafeln.
— The Laon az-type XXIV 5-27. a besteht aus zwei winkelförmigen c, der obere Strich des z ist horneartig verlängert [cf. Palae. Lat. I pl. I 81 ED.]. Die hier erwähnte nordostfranzösische Gruppe: Paris 2110 (Z. 131-134), 2706 (Z. 129 f.), Reg. 11, 316 (Z. 135-137), Autun 20, Montpellier Stadtbibl. 3, Oxford Douce 176 (Z. 142 f.), fr. 1 wird Notae xi als eine vielleicht unreal combination bezeichnet.

27. S. Tafel. Un type français de minuscule précarolingienne. Revue Charlemagne II 1912, 105-115 versucht die eben genannte Hs von Montpellier (Zimmermann 128 g; Anfang des 8 Jh.) einzureihen (viele kursive Formen, aber Regelmässigkeit der Minuskel), wobei er ausser Reg. 316, Autun 20, Douce fr. 1 den Reg. 317 (Z. 44 f.), dessen Minuskel Traube Nomina sacra 221 den l-Typus nennt (vgl. Z. 102 b. 107 a) und in Burgund zu Hause denkt, und Pal. 493 (Z. 101 * - 101 ****) heran. Die Uebereinstimmung späterer Hss von Corbie würde sich durch Luxeuil, das Mutterkloster von Corbie, erklären.
— D. A. Wilmart Rev. Benéd. XXX 1913, 439, 1.

28. Wilhelm Meyer Drei Gothaer Rhythmen aus dem Kreise von Alkuin. Göttinger Nachrichten 1916, 647, 651 (mit Tafel) bespricht die Mischschriften, die schon viele Eingentümlichkeiten der karolingischen Minuskel zeigen (vgl. Chroust II 10, 3, 5 a. New Pal Soc. II 10 Cambrai) und bezeichnet die Schrift von Corbie als einen der im Uebergange vom 8 zum 9. Jh. in Frank-

reich gemachten Versuche, eine kleine und bequeme Buchschrift zu konstruieren.

* Henry Bradshaw Society LII 1917: Unziale und Minuskel des schon genannten Regin. 317, mit dem nach Clark S. 125 die Hs von Barcelona manche Aehnlichkeit haben soll.

† Paul Liebaert Some early scripts of the Corbie Scriptorium, Palae. Lat. I (s. oben 22) 62-66. 4 T. unterscheidet en-, Leutchar- und Maurdramnus-Typus.

29. Wenn man die wiederholt angeführten wertvollen Zusammenstellungen Lowes und Erlaüterungen sowie Tafeln Zimmermanns (44-74 Schule von Luxeuil, 85-118 von Corbie [1], 119-126 unter deren Einfluss stehende Hss, 127-143 nordostfranzösische Gruppe 144-149 a-Typus [Laon az-Typus. ED.] berücksichtigt, ergeben sich für die weitere Forschung etwa folgende Gesichtspunkte. Als Schrift mit besonderen Eigentümlichkeiten (die Verbindung von *e* mit *m*, *n*, *r* ist in der Kursive allgemein üblich) tritt uns zunächst die von Luxeuil entgegen, für die auch die Zierbuchstaben der Titel charakteristisch zu sein scheinen, ferner a (aus dem sich — wie Ottenthal vermutet, vielleicht in Laon — das a des az-Typus entwickelt), o und gespaltene p, r und s. Es ist möglich dass diese Schrift eine Zeit lang auch in Corbie verwendet wurde. Bald aber beginnt der ab-Typ sich vorzubereiten, zunächst mit dem *b* (geknicktes *b* Z. 91 b, für geknicktes *l* s. oben 26); der horizontale Verbindungsstrich kommt auch bei anderen Buchstaben vor. Andere Hss aber (vgl. eine Hand des Par. 17655: Z. 90, die bei Z. 116 abgebildete Kölner Hs und einige der Hss, deren Buchschmuck nach Z. noch unter dem Einfluss von Corbie steht) zeigen diese besonderen Eigentümlichkeiten nicht; s. Z. S. 78, der in einer Polemik gegen Tafel bemerkt, dass die Provenienzen der Hss in den Nordosten des Frankenreiches weisen, wohin auch die Verwandtschaft mit den a(z)-Typ und das Hinüber-

[1] Lehmann's Bedenken (1623) ob alle Luxovienses, die Petersburg Q I 14 vorangehen, später sein müssen als der Corbier Gregor (Z. S. 63 f.), stimme ich bei.

greifen nach Deutschland spreche. Das Endglied der nordostfranzösischen Gruppe (T. 141) sei sicherlich für, vielleicht in Köln geschrieben; vgl. (ausser James 36, 37) auch Ehrle 27, 28, deren Buchstabenformen nach Mentz 115 für die karolingische Minuskel massgebend waren. Seine Nachzeichnungen beweisen das freilich nicht; aber der Gedanke ist beachtenswert (vgl. Lowe Stud. 35 f. über Epinal 68; Thompson 130, Z. 122).

30. Bei James findet sich ein mit beträchtlicher Krümmung nach links ausgreifendes *h*, das nach Lindsay Palae. Lat. I 48 für burgundische Hss charakteristich ist, aber auch in anderen Schriftarten vorkommt; vgl. bei Zimmermann ausser Montpellier 3 und Reg. 316 T. 90 a, 91 *, 105 b, 111 b, 219 e (Autun 4), endlich Chroust II 10, 4 (Augiensis CCXXII).

31. In Corbie bediente man sich in denselben Hss oder in solchen, die durch Aehnlichkeit des Buchschmuckes zusammenhängen, der Halbunziale. Sie nähert sich immer mehr der karolingischen Minuskel; vgl. aber Lehmann 10: Man wird besser von der Anpassung schon vorhandener Minuskel an ältere und jüngere Halbunziale als vom Uebergang von der Halbunziale zur Minuskel reden.

VIII. — **Karolingische Minuskel.**

32. Die Entwicklung lässt sich an vielfach örtlich und zeitlich bestimmbaren Hss verfolgen bei Chroust II 6. 10. 7, 1-8, 6. 9, 7-10. 10, 1, 2, 5-9. 11, 1-6. 19, 6-10. 20, 1. 21, 9-22, 2. 23, 1-4. 24, 5-10; vgl. Beer (958; S. 62). James 23-28, 33 f. 113-117. 124. 133. 148-153. 157. 181-185. New Pal. Soc. I 236 f. u. s. w. Hessel (oben 25). Mentz (oben 29).

Die Kasseler Hs der tironischen Noten [in Lichtdruck] hgg. von Friedrich Ruess. Leipzig und Berlin 1914.

Cicero. Operum philos. Codex Leidensis Vossianhs lat. Fol. 84 (C G L XIX 1915).

Lucretius. Codex Vossianus Quadratus (C G L XVIII 1913) für Buchschmuck Wilhelm Kohler in den A. 1 angeführten Berichten I 52. II 52. III 71.

Peintures et initiales de la première et de la seconde Bible de Charles le Chauve (PBN 19/20 1911).

* E. K. Rand und G. Howe Vatican Livy and the Script of Tours. Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. I School of Class. Studies 1915/6.

A. Merton Buchmalerei von St. Gallen. 1911.

Franz Landsberger Der St. Gallner Folchartpsalter. 1912; und für das Prümer Evangeliar Degering in: 15 Jahre k. und Staatsbibl. Harnack zum 31. III. 21 ueberreicht 122 (vgl. Archiv XLIII 628. XLV 135), für die Palastschule in Aachen Lawlor 434 (Alkuin seit 782: Goldhss, Inhaltsangabe von Psalmen). ThLZ 1922, 371. Mentz (oben 27).

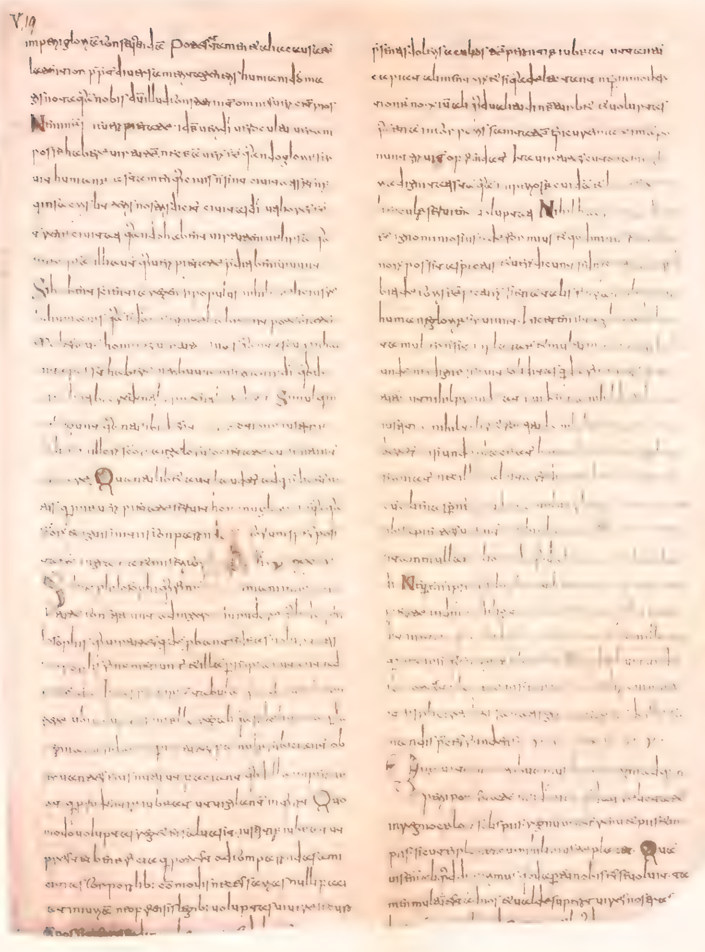
33. Lehmann (oben 17, 31) wirft auch (vgl. Münch. S.-Ber. 1920 N 18 A.) die Frage auf, ob Eigentümlichkeiten alter Minuskel von St. Gallen oberitalienischen, rätischen oder fränkischen Urspsungs sind. Es dürfte sich um eine Uebergangsschrift handeln, die von der norditalienischen ausgeht und von der karolingischen beeinflusst wird (Alkuin war mit Bischof Remedius von Chur befreundet); vgl. ZB XXX 477 ff. über St. Gallen 272 IX: frühkarolingisch mit St. Gallen Duktus. XXXII qq. über Spicilegium (oben 16) und

Kunibert Mohlberg St. Gallen Sakramentarforschüng I (Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen 1/2 Münster 1918 S. LXXXIX und C.

34. Hans Foerster Die Abkürzungen in den Kölner Hss der Karolingerzeit. Tübingen 1916. Das Verz. der Kürzungen (von 14 Hss aus der Zeit Hildebalds und von 5 aus der Zeit von 820-921) in zwar umfangreichen, aber doch nicht immer übersichtlichen Tabellen ist dankenswert. F. findet es auffällig, dass *t* mit übergeschriebenem *c* für tunc nur 1 mal vorkommt, tc öfter, *u* mit übergeschriebenem *o* für vero aber einigemale vorkommt (uo 2 mal in einer insular beeinflussten Hs). Die Zahl der Stellen ist zu gering, als das ein sicherer Schluss gezogen werden könnte.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

REGISTER



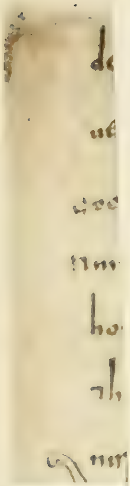
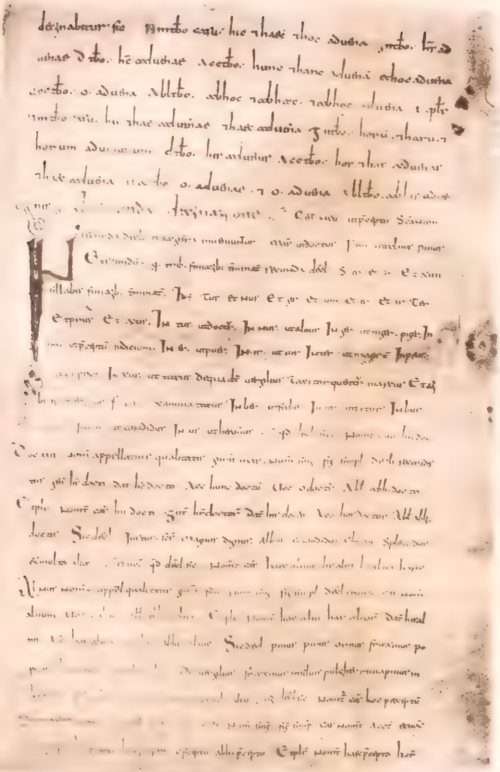


Plate II.



PARTES ORATIONIS SUNT OCTO. Quae.
Nomen Pronomen Verbum Adverbium Par
ticipium. Coniunctio praepositio Interiectio.
Nomen est pars orationis. Nomini accidunt vi. Qualitas Comparatio
Genus Numerus figura Casus. Qualitas nominum bipertita est. Aut enim appellativi
est nominis aut proprii. Proprium ut hierusalem. iordanis. sion. Appellativum
est. ut civitas. fluvius. mons. Proprium similiter est ut michahel. petrus
Stephanus. [illegible] paulus. aaron. ezechias. Appellativum similiter est ut angelus
apostolus. martyr. propheta. Sacerdos. Rex. Comparationis gradus sunt iii.
Positivus: ut recte. Comparativus: ut sanctior. Superlativus: ut sanctissimus. Positivus
[illegible]: Ut sapiens. fortis. doctus. fidelis. affectuosus. Comparativus: ut
sapientior. fortior. doctior. fidelior. affectuosior. Superlativus: ut sapi
entissimus. fortissimus. doctissimus. fidelissimus. affectuosissimus.